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Author(s): Christopher A. Faraone
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CHRISTOPHER A. FARAONE

Taking the "Nestor's Cup Inscription" Seriously: Erotic Magic and Conditional Curses in the Earliest Inscribed Hexameters

For my teacher, Toni Raubitschek

NEARLY FORTY YEARS AGO, archaeologists discovered the fragments of a Rhodian kotyle (a drinking cup) in an early archaic cremation grave on the island of Pithecusae in the bay of Naples. This unassuming cup carries one of the earliest extant Greek inscriptions, the so-called "Nestor's Cup Inscription," which is now firmly dated to the late eighth century:[1]

I first presented this thesis at a colloquium in the Stanford University Classics Department in 1985, a full year after having encountered the Nestor's Cup Inscription in a stimulating graduate seminar on the Greek Epigram taught by Prof. A. E. Raubitschek, the dedicatee of this essay. It will surprise no one who knows him well that although he has always had disagreements with parts of my argument here, he has nonetheless encouraged me to pursue it over the years and has inevitably helped make it better. I should also thank other teachers and colleagues who offered advice on this early version, especially M. Jameson and D. Obbink. I began working in earnest on the long written version of this paper as a fellow at the Center for Hellenic Studies during the academic year 1991-1992. I owe many thanks to Z. and D. Stewart, the other junior fellows, and the staff for making my stay a particularly enjoyable and productive one. I read an abbreviated version of the essay at the 1992 Annual Meeting of the APA in a panel entitled "The Performance and Ritual Context of Early Greek Poetry," where the papers and comments of A. Henrichs and D. Obbink provided me with some important new insights. I am especially grateful to R. Janko, D. R. Jordan, R. Kotansky, H. S. Versnel, S. West, and an anonymous reader, who offered detailed and valuable comments on early drafts of this essay or portions of it.

1. *SEG* 14. 604; R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1967) no. 1; P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca Saeculorum VIII–V A. Chr. N.*, Texte und Kommentare 12 (Berlin, 1983) no. 454; L. H. Jeffery and A. W. Johnston, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*[2] (Oxford, 1990) 239 no. 1; and R. Arena, *Iscrizioni delle colonie euboiche,* Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia 3 (Pisa, 1994) 18–19 no. 12, who provides an excellent new photograph that reveals the presence of extra letters after the *vacat* beyond the end of the second hexameter. The *editio princeps* is G. Buchner and C. F. Russo, "La coppa di Nestore e un' iscrizione metrica da pitecusa dell' VIII secolo av. Cr.," *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 10 (1955) 215–53; for the most recent bibliography, see O. Vox, "Bibliografia," in G. Buchner and D. Ridgway, *Pithekoussai I: La necropoli*, Monumenti Antichi, Serie Monografica 4, vol. 1 (Rome, 1994) 751–58 and nn. 3–4 *infra*. The original text is

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Νέστορός : ε̣[ἰμ]ι̣ : εὔποτ[ον] : ποτέριον :

hὸς δ' ἂν τῶδε πίεσι : ποτερί[ο] : αὐτίκα κἔνον
hίμερος hαιρέσει : καλλιστε̣[φά]ν̣ο : Ἀφροδίτες

I am the cup of Nestor good for drinking.

Whoever drinks from this cup, desire for beautifully
crowned Aphrodite (i.e., sex[2]) will seize him instantly.

In recent years there has been a growing consensus that this inscription alludes to the epic tradition as part of a sophisticated joke that either plays on a humorous comparison between Nestor's enormous drinking vessel in the *Iliad* (11.632–37) and the humble clay cup which bears the inscription,[3] or toys in rather subtle ways with the reader's generic expectations about proprietary inscriptions or conditional curses.[4] In light of parallels drawn from the often ignored corpus of Greek magical texts,[5] I shall return to Dihle's commonsense statement of the

written in continuous retrograde, but I have reversed the direction of the letters for the convenience of the modern reader. I give Hansen's text, noting that the restoration of ε̣[ἰμ]ι̣ to the lacuna of line 1 is not universally approved (see n. 3 for other possibilities) and also that it is not crucial to the argument that follows (*infra*, n. 66). Unless otherwise noted, all dates in this essay are B.C.E, and all translations are my own.

2. This equation, Aphrodite = sexual intercourse, is assumed by all who discuss this inscription. Cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 419 (ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα) and LSJ s.v. for further examples.

3. Scholars have usually filled the lacuna in the first line in a manner that underscores the difference between the legendary Homeric cup and the modest Pithecusan one: e.g., Buchner and Russo (*supra*, n. 1) restore ἔ̣[ρρο]ι̣ (paraphrase: "Away with Nestor's cup, this cup has erotic power"); and M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* 1 (Rome, 1967) 226–27 restores μ̣[έ]ν̣ (paraphrase: "Nestor's cup was good for drinking, but this one is good for sex"); she is followed by D. Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks* (Cambridge, 1992) 55–57. K. Rüter and K. Matthiessen, "Zum Nestorbecher von Pithekussai," *ZPE* 2 (1968) 231–55 (esp. 246 and 254), following a suggestion of B. Snell, are the first, I think, to call the inscription an outright joke; restoring ε̣[ἰμ]ι̣ to the first line, they suggest that the humor arises from the contrast between the proud boast of the cup ("I am the [sc. fabulous] cup of Nestor") and its obvious small size and humble manufacture. C. Watkins, *HSCP* 80 (1976) 39–40 suggests ἐ̣[στ]ι̣ (paraphrase: "Nestor's Cup is good to drink from, but *this* cup . . ."), which like ε̣[ἰμ]ι̣ has a number of good parallels in early epigraphic texts. In recent years, ε̣[ἰμ]ι̣ has proven to be the most popular restoration. See, e.g.: A. Johnston, "The Extent and Use of Literacy: The Archaeological Evidence," in R. Hägg, ed., *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.: Tradition and Innovation*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 30 (Stockholm, 1983) 111–19; *CAH*[2] *Plates to Volume III* no. 378; or J. Svenbro, *Phrasikleia: An Anthropology of Reading in Ancient Greece,* trans. J. Lloyd (Ithaca, 1988) 38 n. 55.

4. P. A. Hansen, "Pithecusan Humour: The Interpretation of 'Nestor's Cup' Reconsidered," *Glotta* 54 (1976) 51–57 restores ε̣[ἰμ]ι̣ and offers a close reading of the inscription arguing for a complex series of παρὰ προσδοκίαν jokes which defies brief paraphrase. For the wide acceptance of Hansen's hypothesis, see most recently, e.g., *CAH*[2] (previous note) and R. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 1992) 58. B. Powell, *Homer and the Origin of the Greek Alphabet* (Cambridge, 1991) 163–67 suggests that the series of jokes sketched out by Hansen may be an artifact of the "capping" game played with symposiastic *skolia*, in which one singer tries to outdo the joke of his neighbor.

5. The following abbreviations for the basic corpora and surveys of ancient Greek magical texts will be used throughout:

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obvious[6] and argue that the two hexametrical lines are precisely what they claim to be—a magical spell designed to work as an aphrodisiac.

The essay is divided into two parts: the first dealing with the hexametrical couplet (lines 2 and 3 of the inscription) and the second with the opening line. In the first section I argue that the hexameters can be interpreted as a bona fide magical incantation inscribed with the serious intent of inducing erotic seizure in another individual. My argument shall proceed from a number of different angles. I shall point out (1) that the two hexameters take the semantic form of a conditional curse well known from oaths and proprietary curses of the archaic period and from the earliest extant magical texts, which date from the late classical period; (2) that hexametrical verse was commonly used as early as the classical period—and probably much earlier—in magical incantations; and (3) that words in the inscription such as ποτήριον, that do not appear elsewhere in literary hexameters, but *are* used in the Greek magical tradition, may in fact be terms of a quasi-technical nature drawn from a very old, but poorly documented, tradition of metrical incantations. To these three points I shall then cautiously add a fourth, arguing that the deictic pronoun in the second line of the inscription (τῶδε) most probably signals the use of performative language common in magical incantations.

In the second (and admittedly more speculative) section of this paper, I turn to the vexed problems associated with the opening line of the inscription, arguing that instead of introducing some sophisticated intertextual joke, this line can perhaps be best understood as a label or rubric of the sort frequently used to signify authorship or ownership in archaic inscriptions (to identify tombs and other objects), in early written texts to "seal" a writer's name to his *œuvre*, and in

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GMA = R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper and Bronze Lamellae,* vol. 1, Papyrologica Coloniensia 22.1 (Opladen, 1994).

PGM = K. Preisendanz and A. Henrichs, *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*[2] (Stuttgart, 1973–1974).

SGD = D. R. Jordan, "A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora," *GRBS* 26 (1985) 151–97.

Suppl. Mag. = R. Daniel and F. Maltomini, *Supplementum Magicum,* 2 vols., Papyrologica Coloniensia 16.1 and 2 (Opladen, 1990 and 1991).

The numbers following these abbreviations indicate the number of the text in the corpus unless otherwise specified.

6. "Der Inhalt der Inschrift ist ohne Zweifel als—wie weit auch immer ernst zu nehmender—Liebeszauber zu verstehen," in "Die Inschrift vom Nestor-Becher aus Ischia," *Hermes* 97 (1969) 261. Stephanie West, "Nestor's Bewitching Cup," *ZPE* 101 (1994) 9–15 is to my knowledge the only scholar to follow Dihle's approach in taking this inscription seriously. M. Marcovich, "A God Called Lychnos," *RhM* 114 (1971) 333–39 (= *Studies in Graeco-Roman Religions and Gnosticism,* Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 4 [Leiden, 1988] 1–7) takes a similarly sensible approach to the prayer to the lamp-god Lychnos in Asclepiades of Samos' *Epigram* 9 (Gow-Page), arguing that it is not a playful joke, but a real conditional curse aimed at ruining the career of a faithless hetaera by extinguishing her lamp every time she embraces a client: ὅταν φίλον ἔνδον ἔχουσα παίζῃ, ἀποσβεσθεὶς μηκέτι φῶς πάρεχε. As we shall see below, this prayer takes the traditional form of a conditional or automatic curse, much the same as that used in the Nestor's Cup Inscription.

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later magical texts to boast a legendary author or user of a particular incantation or ritual. In most cases the name of the owner or author (in this case, Nestor) comes first in the rubric and is often accompanied by an adjective that boasts a special quality or advertises a "selling point" for the spell (in this case, εὔποτ[ον], "good for drinking"). Given the paucity of other examples of cups inscribed with magical incantations, I shall close my essay by suggesting that this inscription was a random experiment at inscribing on a cup an incantation that was traditionally spoken over a cup without any recourse to writing.

EPIC POETRY AND MAGICAL INCANTATIONS: QUOTATION, ADAPTATION OR INDEPENDENT TRADITION?

The serious intent of the Pithecusan inscription has been overlooked, I think, because of a common assumption that it is simply the wine in the cup that will act as the aphrodisiac. Indeed there is ample evidence to show that the Greeks believed wine had erotic properties, and there seems to be a long tradition of wine-as-aphrodisiac in the setting of the symposium,[7] the social context usually assumed for the Nestor's Cup Inscription. Thus, in the past it has seemed easiest to suppose that the inscription is merely a light-hearted description of what happens to any man when he drinks from any cup of wine. Two aspects of the form of the inscription suggest, however, that it is not "descriptive" in intent, but rather "persuasive" or "performative," that is, it is designed to *cause* an action (in this case intense sexual desire) by its very presence, either spoken or written.[8] In the first place, as editors have repeatedly pointed out, this curious inscription takes the form of a common Greek cursing formula—the so-called conditional

7. H. M. Müller, *Erotische Motive in der griechischen Dichtung bis auf Euripides* (Hamburg, 1980) 134–38. See, for example, a fragment of Eubulus, the fourth-century comic poet (Frag. 93 [Kassel-Austin]): "Three bowls only do I mix for the temperate—one for health, which they empty first, the second for sexual love (*erôs*) and pleasure, and the third for sleep, which men reputed to be wise drink up and then go home." An elegiac poem by Evenus (Frag. 2 [West]) is predicated on a similar hierarchy. For a discussion of the topos, see R. C. Hunter, *Eubulos: The Fragments* (Cambridge, 1983) 183–89, and D. E. Gerber, "The Measure of Bacchus," *Mnemosyne* 41 (1988) 39–45.

8. S. J. Tambiah, "Form and Meaning of Magical Acts: A Point of View," in R. Horton and R. Finnegan, eds., *Modes of Thought* (London, 1973) 199–229 rightly dismisses the common view that "sympathetic magic" is based on poor observation of empirical analogies. He distinguishes instead between the operation of "empirical analogies" (used in modern scientific discourse to *predict* future actions) and "persuasive analogies" (used in rituals in traditional societies to *encourage* future action). Such rituals do not betray inferior observation skills, but rather they reveal a profound belief in the extraordinary power of language. Cf. G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience* (Cambridge, 1979) 2–3 and 7. For the use of such "persuasive analogies" in the rituals of archaic and classical Greece, see C. A. Faraone, "The Agonistic Context of Early Greek Binding Spells," in C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* (Oxford, 1991) 7–9, and idem, "Molten Wax, Spilt Wine and Mutilated Animals: Sympathetic Magic in Early Greek and Near Eastern Oath Ceremonies," *JHS* 113 (1993) 60–80.

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or automatic curse[9]—which is found, for example, on a nearly contemporary proto-Corinthian aryballos from nearby Cyme: Ταταίες ἐμὶ λέϙυθος· hὸς δ" ἄν με κλέφσει θυφλὸς ἔσται("I am the jug of Tataie. Whoever steals me will go blind"). An early sixth-century Rhodian tomb inscription provides another example: σᾶμα τόζ' Ἰδαμενεὺς ποίησα hίνα κλέος εἴη. Ζεὺ⟨ς⟩ δέ νιν ὅστις πημαίνοι λειόλη θείη ("I, Idameneus, made this tomb in order that I might have fame. Whoever harms ⟨it⟩, may Zeus make him utterly accursed").[10] Nor is this form limited to inscriptions. In a memorable scene in Sophocles' *Ajax*, Teucer hastily utters a conditional curse aloud (accompanied by the gesture of clipping a hair) to prevent any of the soldiers from taking Ajax's child away (*Ajax* 1175–79): εἰ δέ τις ... σ' ἀποσπάσειε ..., κακὸς κακῶς ἄθαπτος ἐκπέσοι χθονός ... ῥίζαν ἐξημημένος, αὖτως ὅπωσπερ τόνδ' ἐγὼ τέμνω πλόκον ("And if anyone ... snatches you away ..., may the wretch wretchedly be exiled from his land ... torn up by the roots, as I in this very same way cut this hair").[11] In each case, a possible action in the future (drinking from a cup, stealing a small vase, defacing a monument, or removing a boy from the side of his father's body) will automatically trigger a conditional "curse" (sexual desire, blindness, or utter destruction).[12] The emphasis in our Pithecusan text on the swiftness of the action (αὐτίκα) may also be a subtle indication of its serious magical intent.[13]

9. Best known, perhaps, in the form of the conditional self-curse found in early Greek oath ceremonies, such as the "Oath of the Founders of Cyrene" during which the participants melted wax effigies of themselves and wished that they be destroyed like the melting effigies if they violated their oaths; see Faraone "Molten Wax" (*supra*, n. 8). Other uses included "tombstone curses" that conditionally wished utter destruction upon anyone who robbed or otherwise desecrated the body buried within; see J. Strubbe, "Cursed be he that moves my bones," in Faraone and Obbink (*supra*, n. 8) 33–59 and note 57 *infra* for some examples of metrical curses excerpted from Strubbe's essay.

10. For Tataie's cup, see Jeffrey-Johnston (*supra*, n. 1) 240 no. 3 (= *IG* 14.865). For the Rhodian inscription see ibid. 356 no. 5 (= *IG* 12.1.737). I follow C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago, 1928) 298 no. 100 in his interpretation of λειόλη as "accursed."

11. The use of the pronoun κεῖνος in the Pithecusan inscription also finds parallels in Homeric threats (e.g., *Il.* 9.63–64 or 13.232–35) and in the automatic curses of the so-called "Teiorum Dirae" (public imprecations found on a stele from the island of Teos, ca. 470), e.g., ὃς ἂν τὰς στήλας ... ἀφανέας ποιήσει, κεῖνον ἀπόλλυσθαι. For the text of this new fragment see P. Herrman, "Teos und Abdera in 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," *Chiron* 11 (1981) 8–9, Frag. d, lines 35–40. Cf. another stipulation in the same curse, Meiggs-Lewis (*supra*, n.1) no. 30A.1–4: ὅστις φάρμακα δηλητήρια ποιοῖ, ... κεῖνον ἀπόλλυσθαι.

12. I note in passing that the two curses from Italy use an "automatic formula" (i.e., one that requires no divine agency) whereas the curses of Idameneus and Teucer use the "wish formula" that usually expresses or implies the need of some supernatural help. I have argued elsewhere that the variation between these types of formula is insignificant, as both types often appear in the same context or even side by side in the same text. See Faraone, "Agonistic Context" (*supra*, n. 8) 4–10 and 17–20 and idem, "Molten Wax" (*supra*, n. 8) 77–79.

13. The word appears, in the same metrical position, in the description of the instantaneous effects of Circe's magic (*Od.* 10.237). In general, swiftness is emphasized in the Greek magical tradition. The doubling ἤδη, ἤδη, ταχύ, ταχύ, for example, is extremely common in magical incantations, especially erotic ones; see, e.g., *PGM* I. 262; III. 35, 85 and 123; IV. 973, 1593 and 2037; VII. 248, 330, 410 and 993; VIII. 52 and 84; X 50; and XLIII. 27. One also finds ταχέως (*PGM* I. 107; IV. 72, 384 and 1265) and τάχιστα (*PGM* IV. 2619, 2742, 2757 and 2782). The

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No one, I think, will doubt that Tataie or Idameneus seriously believed or at least hoped that their inscriptions would be effective, nor will they doubt that the Sophoclean Teucer speaks his curse with similar hopes. Scholars have consistently doubted this, however, in the case of the Pithecusan inscription, and their resistance (which is never clearly spelled out) stems, I think, from two understandable, yet nonetheless misguided, preconceptions: (1) that the blindness or annihilation threatened in the other examples is obviously an accursed thing, but the erotic seizure[14] offered by the Nestor's Cup Inscription is not; and (2) that the Pithecusan text, a pair of fine hexameters inscribed in a careful hand and putatively alluding to the epic tradition, is the work of a cultivated person who presumably did not dabble in such "degrading superstition." It has, however, long been noted that the Greeks, in the archaic period at least, maintain a hostile or at best a suspicious attitude towards erotic seizure (usually signaled by the attack of *eros* or *himeros*), in stark contrast to our own more romantic views of erotic desire as a positive, liberating emotion.[15] And since erotic seizure was, for all intents and purposes, an accursed thing in early Greek thought, we should not be surprised to find it named as the goal of a traditional curse. The frequent crossover, moreover, between love potions and poisons,[16] and more generally between curses and erotic spells—for example, the use of melting wax or bound images in both arenas—signals the easy assimilation of cursing and erotic magic in the ancient world.[17] The second erroneous assumption—that literate eighth-century Greeks would neither believe in magic nor employ it—is more difficult to

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emphatic position and repetition of ταχέως in Sappho frag. 1. 21–23 (Voigt) is just one of several clues that the poet is mimicking a bona fide erotic incantation; see Cameron (*infra*, n. 108) and Faraone, "Amphiaraus" (*infra*, n. 56) 323–24.

14. I wish to stress that I am not speaking broadly about all forms of desire, affection or love. By "erotic seizure" I refer to instances (as in the inscription under discussion) in which *eros*, *pothos* or *himeros* is said to seize, strike or otherwise attack an unwilling victim who is suddenly and otherwise inexplicably attracted to another person. I suspect that this archaic conceptualization of the onset of unwanted desire is patterned on the belief that sudden demonic attacks were the cause of epilepsy, strokes and other violent illnesses; for the most recent work that summarizes older bibliography, see C. A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (Oxford, 1992) 44–48, and R. Padel, *In and Out of Mind: Greek Images of the Tragic Self* (Princeton, 1993) 114–34.

15. See, e.g., A. Carson, *Eros the Bitter-Sweet* (Princeton, 1986) 3–9; Müller (*supra*, n. 7) 90–130; R. D. Brown, *Lucretius On Love and Sex* (Leiden, 1987) 47–99; and J. G. Griffiths, "Love as a Disease," in *Atlantis and Egypt with Other Essays* (Cardiff, 1991) 60–67.

16. C. A. Faraone, "Sex and Power: Male-Targeting Aphrodisiacs in the Greek Magical Tradition," in D. Konstan, ed., *Documenting Gender: Women and Men in Non-Literary Classical Sources*, Helios 19 (1992) 92–103 and idem, "Deianeira's Mistake and the Demise of Heracles: Erotic Magic in Sophocles' *Trachiniae*," in S. I. Johnston, ed., *Magic and Literature*, Helios 21 (1994) 115–35. For the ambiguity of Greek *pharmakon* and Latin *venenum* (both can mean poison, love potion or magical charm), see note 44 *infra*.

17. C. A. Faraone, "Clay Hardens and Wax Melts: Magical Role-Reversal in Vergil's Eighth Eclogue," *CPh* 84 (1989) 294–300; see also idem, "The Wheel, the Whip and Other Implements of Torture: Erotic Magic in Pindar *Pythian* 4. 213–19," *CJ* 88 (1993) 1–19, which explores erotic spells that aim at torturing the victim with various curses.

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counter, given the limits of our evidence about the beliefs of anyone living in the eighth century. Nonetheless, it appears more and more certain that Greeks in the archaic and classical periods regularly employed magically sympathetic actions and incantations to sanction their oaths, curse their enemies, and protect their houses and cities from diseases, demons and other disasters.[18]

As it turns out, the hexameters themselves provide the best ammunition for my argument here, as they are frequently employed in Greek magical incantations, first as hexameters produced ad hoc for a particular situation or crisis (presumably by the same oral techniques which created epics, hymns and oracles), and then, from the Hellenistic period onwards, as quotations from or adaptations of famous narrative texts. Thus, in the Roman and late-antique periods the text of Homer is by far the most popular source for hexametrical incantations.[19] Medical and magical handbooks inform us that Homeric verses, when whispered in patients' ears or inscribed on gold and hung around their necks as amulets, can work wonders; they can, for example, provide an effective way of preventing a pregnancy[20] or keeping a bone from lodging in the throat.[21] It was also believed that such verses could cure

18. For the popularity of magical rituals in the archaic and early classical periods, see e.g., Faraone, "Molten Wax" (*supra*, n. 8), and idem, "Binding and Burying the Forces of Evil: The Use of 'Voodoo Dolls' in Ancient Greece," *ClAnt* (1991) 164–69. Recent work on *defixiones* suggests that wealthy Athenian citizens were both the targets and the users of binding curses, especially in the arena of the courts of law; see D. R. Jordan, "Two Inscribed Lead Tablets from a Well in the Athenian Kerameikos," *AM* 95 (1980) 225–39; idem, "New Archaeological Evidence for the Practice of Magic in Classical Athens," *Praktika of the 12th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Sept. 4–10, 1983.* (Athens, 1988) 273–77; and C. A. Faraone, "An Accusation of Magic in Classical Athens (Ar. *Wasps* 946–48)," *TAPA* 119 (1989) 149–61.

19. With the important exception of *PGM* XXIIa (a fragment of a late-antique handbook devoted exclusively to incantations culled from Homer; see below nn. 20 and 24–26), most of the examples cited here are discussed in detail by G. Roeper, "Homerische Talisman," *Philologus* 5 (1850) 162–65, and R. Heim, *Incantamenta Magica Graeca-Latina*, Jahrbücher für classische Philologie Suppl. 10 (Leipzig, 1892) 514–19, nos. 151–58.

20. *PGM* XXIIa. 11–14 calls for the inscription of *Il.* 3.40 (Hector's curse on his brother Paris: αἴθ' ὄφελες ἄγονός τ' ἔμεναι ἄγαμός τ' ἀπολέσθαι) on a papyrus which is then tied with mule hair to a magnet. The verse could also simply be spoken. On the amulet, the curse is probably addressed to the potential fetus, but the adjective ἄγονος is ambiguous; with the exception of very rare appearances, where it must be understood passively as "unborn"—here at *Il.* 3.40, at Euripides *Phoen.* 1598, and at Eubulus frag. 106.11 (K-A)—it has an active meaning, "childless." If this active meaning is intended by the inventor of this charm, we should understand the curse as directed to the womb of the patient. See J. Scarborough, "The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs and Roots," in Faraone and Obbink (*supra*, n. 8) 158–59, for the significance of the magnet (a traditional contraceptive) and the homeopathic effect of the hairs of a mule, a sterile animal.

21. Marcellus *de Med.* 15.105 (= Heim [*supra*, n. 19] no. 151) reports the efficacy of a Homeric couplet excerpted from the *Nekuia* (lines 11.634–35: μή μοι Γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου / ἐξ Ἀΐδεω πέμψειεν ἐπαινὴ [Marc.; Homer ἀγαυὴ] Περσεφόνεια): when whispered in the ear of a patient or written on papyrus and tied to his neck, it prevents or dislodges a bone stuck in the patient's throat. Here the two verses (taken from a construction involving a verb of fearing) operate simply as a wish that Persephone not send the monster (presumably equated here with the offending bone) out of Hades; the Gorgon appears elsewhere in amulet texts as personified gout (*infra*, n. 23).

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eye disease,[22] gout,[23] "bloody flux" (perhaps a reference to hemorrhoids),[24] pain in the breasts and uterus,[25] or even elephantiasis.[26] Homeric hexameters could also ensure the proper cultivation of fruit trees[27] and the maintenance of pleasant interpersonal relations.[28] If one whispers the correct verse over a wine cup, one can (it is alleged) drink enormous amounts of wine without getting the least bit

22. Marcellus *de Med.* 8.58 recommends as a remedy for eye problems a gold amulet inscribed with the famous Homeric description of the sun who "sees all things" (*Il.* 3.277). Lucian (*Charon* 7) has Hermes say that he is "taking a charm (ἐπῳδή) out of Homer," when he cures the ferryman's poor eyesight by quoting *Il.* 5.127–28, the lines that Athena speaks when she assures the wounded Diomedes that she has "taken the fog from his eyes."

23. Alex. Trallianus (vol. 2, p. 581 [Puschmann] = Heim [*supra*, n. 19] no. 152) recommends as a cure for gout wearing a gold *lamella* inscribed with *Il.* 2.95 (τετρήχει δ' ἀγορή, ὑπὸ δ' ἐστοναχίζετο γαῖα), a text which actually has turned up on a third-century C.E. gold amulet now at Dumbarton Oaks; see R. Kotansky, "Incantations and Prayers for Salvation on Inscribed Greek Amulets," in Faraone and Obbink (*supra*, n. 8) 118, for a description of this and other amuletic cures for gout. The particular efficacy of this verse is, however, obscure. If we assume the common misunderstanding (from the Hellenistic period onwards) that τετρήχα, the perfect of ταράσσειν, was derived from τραχύς, "rough" (see LSJ s.v. ταράσσω), the verse may have been seen as a threat to an illness or demon which dwells in the feet, e.g., "the *agora* is rough and the ground groans beneath."

24. *PGM* XXIIa. 2–9 calls for the recital of *Il.* 1.75 (a description of the wrath of Apollo) to cure αἱμαρ(ρ)οΐα, a word that means any bloody discharge, but especially that of hemorrhoids. This also seems to be a threat, common in the so-called "Flee Formulas" where, for example, the figure of Perseus, engraved on a sardonyx in a running pose and grasping his *harpe*, is encouraged by an inscription on the obverse to pursue "Gout," presumably conceived of in Gorgon-form; see C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Greco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor, 1950) 76–77, and Kotansky (*supra*, n. 23) 118–19. For the popularity of such "flee-formulas," see the Philinna Papyrus (*infra*, n. 70) and two of the "Seal of Solomon" amulets discussed in n. 80 *infra*.

25. *PGM* XXIIa. 9–10 recommends the inscription, presumably on an amulet, of *Il.* 2.548 (a reference to Erechtheus' autochthonous birth and subsequent nourishment by Athena) as a cure for pains in the female organs of birth and suckling.

26. *PGM* XXIIa. 15–17 suggests that *Il.* 4.141 (the first line of an elaborate simile describing the blood spreading from Menelaos' wound: ὡς δ' ὅτε τις ἐλέφαντα γύνη φοίνικι μιήνῃ) be worn about the neck as a cure for elephantiasis; see Kotansky (*supra*, n. 23) 117. Here the efficacy of the verse presumably arises from the ambiguity of the phrase ἐλέφαντα ... μιήνῃ (which in Homer clearly means "dyes" but can also mean "defiles"), that triggers a *similia similibus* charm along the following lines (paraphrase): "just as someone defiles the ivory (ἐλέφας), so too may the elephantiasis be defiled."

27. *Geoponica* 10.87.6 (= Heim [*supra*, n. 19] no. 154) suggests attaching *Il.* 5.387 (a description of Ares: "... and three months and ten he lay chained in a bronze cauldron") to a tree to prevent it from prematurely casting its fruit, i.e., it "binds" the tree to hold on to its fruit until the correct moment in its annual cycle. For more detailed discussion of this passage in light of Greek binding spells, see Faraone, "Binding and Burying" (*supra*, n. 18) 164–69. Kotansky, in his comments on *GMA* 11, suggests plausibly that the opening line of a second-century C.E. inscribed bronze amulet from Avignon (designed to avert hail from a vineyard or orchard) is a very corrupt version of *Il.* 5.89–90, a description of Diomedes sweeping into battle like a winter torrent or storm.

28. *PGM* IV 468 (cf. 824) recommends that *Il.* 8.424 (a rhetorical question spoken by Iris as she tries to persuade Athena not to anger Zeus) be used as an anger-restraining spell, and *PGM* IV 470 (cf. 834) suggests that *Il.* 10.193 (Nestor's advice to the Achaean sentinels not to fall asleep and thus become "a cause of rejoicing to the enemy") is efficacious "for [sc. getting] friends."

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drunk.[29] In several instances, we know of efficacious verses, but their use is not entirely clear to us.[30] If, however, we allow for the possibility that a single line cited in a magical recipe may be shorthand for citing a short passage,[31] we can see that the original context of the verse or verses in the Homeric poem usually dictates its power or usefulness in a magical ritual. Thus, for example, verses excerpted from an Homeric speech—used in epic to calm someone's anger or to assure the temporarily blinded Diomedes that the mist has been lifted from his eyes—could similarly be used to calm the anger or heal the eyesight of someone in day-to-day life (see *supra*, notes 22 and 28).

All of these examples date to the Roman and late-antique periods, and it is usually assumed that this later legacy of Homeric quotations as magical incantations stems from the widespread fame of the author, and that like the very similar use of phrases from Vergil and the Bible in the Middle Ages, this practice reappropriates an authoritative literary text for a completely new and different "magical" purpose.[32] This is undoubtedly true in most of the cases surveyed

29. *Geoponica* 7.31.2 (= Heim [*supra*, n. 19] no. 153) recommends reciting *Il.* 8.170 (a description of a triple thunderblast sent by Zeus as a warning to Diomedes to cease from fighting) over the first cup of wine to ward off the effects of the alcohol.

30. Heim (*supra*, n. 19) cites two amulets inscribed with Homeric verses, whose specific purpose is unknown, no. 156 (*Il.* 12.442–44: a description of Hector exhorting his men to scale the Achaean wall) inscribed on an ostrakon; and no. 157 (*Il.* 5.291: part of a description of Athena guiding the spear of Diomedes into the face of an opponent) inscribed on a serpentine gemstone that perhaps served as a lucky charm to aid the marksmanship of a soldier. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. Epig.* (1950) no. 223, publish a second- or third-century C.E. Roman wall graffito quoting *Il.* 24.171–75 (Iris exhorting Priam to remain brave), which they rightly suspect was used for some prophylactic or apotropaic purpose. In the *PGM* IV three verses from the Doloneia episode (*Il.* 10.521, 564, and 571) appear at three different places, but there is conflicting testimony as to their purpose: at lines 471–73, although they appear under the rubric "For [getting] friends," paragraphoi separate them and it is assumed that their individual rubrics have dropped out; lines 821–23 tell us to inscribe all three on a sheepskin phylactery during the performance of the so-called "Mithras Liturgy"; and at 2145–50 they are labeled τρίστιχος Ὁμήρου πάρεδρος and assigned a number of uses (e.g., victory charm; erotic magic, oracular magic, etc.) when inscribed on an iron tablet or whispered in the ear. Another verse from the description of the binding of Ares (*Il.* 5.385) appears without a rubric at *PGM* IV. 474 and 830; see note 27 *supra* for the use of line 5.387 (from the same passage) in an agricultural spell from the *Geoponica*.

31. For a similar use of incipits in the magical papyri see, e.g., McCown (*infra*, n. 42) 132, who suggests that the words *aski kataski* (the first two words of the famous *Ephesia grammata*), which appear alone in *PGM* VII 451–57, are shorthand for the whole string of words, just as *paternoster* stands for the whole prayer which it begins.

32. See, e.g., Roeper or Heim (*supra*, n. 19). It is uncertain how early we can trace this tradition of quoting Homer as an authority for ritually efficacious hexameters. All of the materials assembled above date to the Roman and late-antique periods; Lucian, writing in the second century C.E. (*supra*, n. 22), is the earliest to describe the practice directly. There is a slim chance that the first-century writer Philodemus, *Peri Parrhesias* 40 (Olivieri), may allude to it when, in a discussion about selecting the proper philosophical guide or healer, he refers to the therapeutic value of reciting *Iliad* 10.246: . . . [δ]ν φ[ησ]ι σωτῆρα μόνο[ν κ]αὶ ἐπιφωνή[σ]ας τὸ "τουτοῦ [γ' ἑ]σπομένοιο," παρέδωκεν [ἑαυ]τὸν θεραπε[ύ]ειν. The line is part of Diomedes' speech in which he chooses Odysseus to be his companion in the Doloneia episode and praises him as follows: "With him at my side both of us could return even from a burning fire." Given the apparent popularity of the

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above, but the whole concept of a "quotation" from an "authoritative text" of Homer is absolutely meaningless for the period prior to the mid sixth century, when what we now know as the classic texts of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had not yet been canonized.[33] Indeed, in the eighth century we must try to imagine a time when, outside of the genre of epic, poets composed hexameters orally for a number of non-narrative genres, including hymns, oracles and magical incantations—all of which are embedded in ritual contexts. We must, in short, leave open the possibility that traditional hymnic, oracular or incantatory forms could have been regularly borrowed or adapted by the narrative poets and not *vice versa*.

Take, for example, the report in Plutarch—probably excerpted from some lost local history such as the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Malians*[34]—that during a scapegoat ritual in the city of Aenis, a chorus of women chanted the following hexameter as some men from the town drove a bull out of their territory: "May you never return to your dear fatherland" (μήποτε νοστήσαιτε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν).[35] The rite is a bit puzzling, as the women, who use the plural form νοστήσαιτε, seem to be addressing the men who are driving the bull, a fact which suggests that both the men and the bull were treated as *pharmakoi*. The chant, nonetheless, is very close in wording to two lines in the *Odyssey*: 18.148, where the disguised Odysseus warns a suitor of the consequences that will befall him when Odysseus returns (ὁππότε νοστήσειε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν), and 19. 298, where Odysseus again in disguise mendaciously reports that Odysseus had gone off to consult Zeus' oracle at Dodona to see how he might return home (ὅππως νοστήσειε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν). Although the erudite Plutarch does not mention or even allude to any Homeric influence here, modern scholars simply assume that this *pharmakos*-chant of the Aenians is an adaptation of one of the Homeric verses quoted above.[36] Their logic, however, runs contrary to the process of adaptation which lies behind most of the Homeric quotations discussed earlier,

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Doloneia as a source for Homeric quotations used as incantations (see nn. 21 and 30 *supra*) I suggest that this line may have originally been used in Philodemus' day as a charm for soldiers or others in dangerous lines of work.

33. For a summary, see, e.g., most recently, W. Burkert, "The Making of Homer in the Sixth Century: Rhapsodes versus Stesichoros," in *Papers on the Amasis Painter and his World* (Malibu, 1987) 43–62, esp. 44–50. In recent years, however, a minority of scholars have questioned so late a date; see, e.g., R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. 4 (Oxford, 1992) 37–38, who argues that the texts of our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were dictated in Geometric times, and Powell (*supra*, n. 4), who argues that the Greek alphabet was created in the eighth century to record the Homeric poems.

34. Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 26 (= *Mor.* 297a). W. R. Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* (Oxford, 1928) *ad loc.* suspects an Aristotelian source here and in Question 13. The Aristotelian "Constitutions" were, in fact, a repeated source for the *Quaestiones Graecae;* see K. Giessen, "Plutarchs Quaestiones Graecae und Aristoteles' Politien," *Philologus* 60 (1901) 446–71.

35. Here, too, as I suggested in n. 31 *supra* for the later tradition of Homeric quotations, we should leave open the possibility that this single line is the incipit of a longer text, one well known to the local historians of Aenis, but now lost to us. For the similar use of incipits in a magical papyrus in Michigan, see n. 76 *infra*.

36. E.g., Halliday (*supra*, n. 34) 130: "The chant of the maidens is adapted from *Odyssey* 18.148 (cf. 19.298) . . . and incidentally illustrates the all-pervading influence of the Homeric poems."

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where the quotation is nearly always verbatim and where the original context of the quoted verses seems to dictate their later use (e.g., a prayer in the *Iliad* for better sight is used to cure eye disease). In this case, however, it is difficult to imagine a process whereby *positive* allusions to Odysseus' eventual return were adopted as an authoritative paradigm for an incantation used to insure that a scapegoat (and perhaps its male attendants as well) will *never* return; in other words, it is not clear to me whether the people of Aenis have adapted a line of Homer or to the contrary that they are employing a traditional hexametrical wish invented long ago for use in a scapegoat ritual—perhaps even at a time contemporaneous with or even antecedent to the formation of the *Odyssey* as we know it today.[37] Such a suggestion leaves open the possibility that Homer has, in fact, taken some traditional language developed for a specific ritual and employed it in his narrative for some particular poetic emphasis or dramatic impact.

This fluidity between what we might anachronistically call "literary forms" and "ritual forms" of hexameters is nicely illustrated in two early hexametrical narratives which seem to describe or allude to magical ritual. The first is the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, where Demeter—disguised as an old woman looking for employment as a nurse for a young child—boasts about her knowledge of protective magic (lines 227–30):[38]

> θρέψω, κοῦ μιν ἔολπα κακοφραδίῃσι τιθήνης
> οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐπηλυσίη δηλήσεται οὔθ' ὑποταμνόν·
> οἶδα γὰρ ἀντίτομον μέγα φέρτερον ὑλοτόμοιο,
> οἶδα δ' ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος ἐσθλὸν ἐρυσμόν.
>
> I will nurse him, and I do not expect—through any weak-mindedness of his nurse—that witchcraft or the "Undercutter" will harm him, for I know an antidote far stronger than the "Woodcutter" and I know an excellent defense against woeful witchcraft.

37. This hexametrical cry of the Aenians was probably part of a longer incantatory song that included a traditional apotropaic "flee-formula," e.g., "Flee from our city ... and may you never return ..." The earliest examples of such formulae appear to be hexametrical, for example, the "Phalasarna Tablet," a late fourth-century lead amulet from Crete that uses hexameters to urge theriomorphic demons to flee: ... φεῦ[γ'] ἅμα φεῦγε, λύκαινα, / φεῦγε, κύων ἅμα σύ, καὶ ΠΡΟΚΡΟΠΡΟΣΑΤΕ σύνοικος. D. R. Jordan, "The Inscribed Lead Tablet from Phalasarna," *ZPE* 94 (1992) 191–94 gives the best text and the most recent bibliography. Aristotle (frag. 496 [Rose]) reports that when a plague gripped Boeotia and many crows came, the people captured the birds, purified them with incantations (περικαθαίροντας ἐπαοιδαῖς) and then released them alive uttering a spell against (ἐπιλέγειν) the plague: φεῦγ' ἐς κόρακας ("Flee to [the] crows!" = "Go away with the crows!"), a cry that could easily be part of a hexametrical chant or song. The "Philinna Papyrus," which dates to Augustan times (*infra*, note 70) contains a hexametrical flee-formula to cure a headache by commanding theriomorphic demons to flee (the text is quoted below). Heim (*supra*, n. 19) nos. 57–60 collects several more Roman and late-antique examples, two of which I quote (*infra*. n. 80).

38. For the significance of Demeter's claim to knowledge of healing magic see N. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974) 229–31, and P. Scarpi, *Letture sulla religione classica: L'inno omerico a Demeter*, Università di Padua Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia 56 (Florence, 1976) 159–73.

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Richardson and others have noted the peculiar "incantatory" character of these verses[39] and the high concentration of *hapax legomena.* The word ἀντίτομον appears nowhere else in Greek, ὑλοτόμοιο and ὑποταμνόν—both apparently colloquial names of hostile demons[40]—occur nowhere else in epic, and ἐρυσμόν is only attested in very late Greek. The term ἐπηλυσίη, moreover, (here meaning the "attack" or "assault" of a demon, sickness or spell) appears only one other time in early Greek poetry in a nearly identical construction at *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 37, where the phrase ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος ἔσσεαι ἔχμα ("may you be a defense against woeful witchcraft"), addressed to a tortoise, seems to reflect the apotropaic use of this animal at entranceways.[41]

Finally and perhaps most importantly, Maas points out that line 228 is quite similar in structure to a line near the end of a hexametrical incantation inscribed on a lead amulet from Phalasarna, Crete (ca. 400):[42]

39. Oddities of style include: repetition of words and sounds, chiasmus (see next note), and the anaphora of οἶδα, which elsewhere in epic is limited to special kinds of song, e.g., that of the Muses (*Th.* 27–28) or the Sirens (*Od.* 12. 189–91); see Richardson (*supra*, n. 38) *ad loc.* for a full discussion.

40. See Richardson (*supra*, n. 38) 44 for a list. T. W. Allen in a brief note, "Descriptive Names of Animals in Greece," *CR* 9 (1895) 13, and then again in T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday and E. E. Sikes, eds., *The Homeric Hymns* (Oxford, 1936) 155–56 suggested that the words ὑλοτόμοιο and ὑποταμνόν were euphemistic names for the worms blamed for toothaches in adults and for teething pains in children; see, e.g., Pliny *HN* 27.89 and compare the Akkadian incantation against toothache in J. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*[3] (Princeton, 1969) 100–101. Richardson, on the other hand, focuses narrowly on the suffixes -τομος and -ταμνος and suggests (wrongly in my view) that, like ἀντίτομον, both of these words refer to the popular medical techniques of cutting roots and herbs. Thus he would translate 229: "an antidote more powerful than the herb-cutter" (where he sees a contrast between the magical lore of wet nurses and that of professional herbalists). The striking chiasmus of "Neither X nor Y will harm him, for I know a cure for Y and a defense against X" suggests strongly that ὑλοτόμοιο and ὑποταμνόν are virtually equivalent. The suffix -τομος can, moreover, refer to hostile demons who "cut" the body. Compare the demon called σταφυλοτόμος on a third-century C.E. papyrus amulet (*Supp. Mag.* 1), whose name means either "he who cuts the grapes" or "he who cuts the uvula." R. Kotansky, in H. D. Betz, ed., *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago, 1986) 315–16, and Daniel, *Supp. Mag. ad loc.* show that this is an epithet for the later Greek demon Lycurgus thought to attack the tonsils, the throat and the uvula (the idea is somehow connected with the story of Lycurgus, who in his Dionysian madness hacks away at his sons' limbs thinking that they are grapevines). D. R. Jordan, "Ἑκατικά," *Glotta* 58 (1980) 64–65 discusses two lead-curses against thieves (of the first and sixth century C.E.) that exhort a demonic Hekate to "cut the hearts" (καρδιοτόμησον) of the thieves; this verb is formed in a fashion similar to the epithets under discussion, all of which point to a belief that certain kinds of pain were caused by demons "cutting" into various fleshy parts of the human body (e.g., gums, tonsils, uvula and heart).

41. Significantly, the young Hermes finds the tortoise "at the gates of the courtyard," (line 26) a popular place in the Greek magical tradition to set up apotropaic herbs, inscriptions and images; see Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses* (*supra*, n. 14) 3–9. Allen, Halliday and Sikes, (*supra*, n. 40) 282–83 give later examples of the power of the tortoise against witchcraft and illness (e.g., Pliny *NH* 32.4) and hailstones (Africanus apud *Geoponica* 1.14.8).

42. M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* II (Rome, 1939) 223–25 no. 7 gives brief comments and bibliography. Of the earlier work, much valuable information can still be got from the discussions of R. Wünsch, "Neue Fluchtafeln," *RhM* 55 (1900) 73–85; C. C. McCown, "The Ephesia Grammata," *TAPA* 54 (1923) 132–36; and P. Maas, "ΕΠΕΝΙΚΤΟΣ," *Hesperia* 13 (1944) 36–37. I give lines

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οὔ με καταχρίστ[ωι δ]ηλήσεται οὔτ' ἐπενίκτ[ωι]
οὔτε ποτῶι [οὔ]τ' ἐπαγωγῆι, ...

... shall not harm me with ointment or with application (Maas; "ghost?" Jordan) or with drink or with incantation.

The striking similarity of context (protective magic) and word placement in the hexametrical line between οὔ ... δ]ηλήσεται οὔτ' and line 228 in the *Hymn* (οὔτε ... δηλήσεται οὔθ') can hardly be coincidental, and although one can never rule out the possibility that the amulet may be quoting or adapting the language of the hymn, it seems far more likely that Maas is correct in thinking that both depend on an even earlier hexametrical charm.[43]

A second example of an epic poet borrowing the traditional language of incantation occurs in the well known incident in the *Odyssey*, where Helen, apparently without the knowledge of her husband or his guests, drugs the wine they are drinking (*Od.* 4. 220–26):

αὐτίκ' ἄρ' εἰς οἶνον βάλε φάρμακον, ἔνθεν ἔπινον,
νηπενθές τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἁπάντων.
ὃς τὸ καταβρόξειεν, ἐπὴν κρητῆρι μιγείη,
οὔ κεν ἐφημέριός γε βάλοι κατὰ δάκρυ παρειῶν,
οὐδ' εἴ οἱ κατατεθναίη μήτηρ τε πατήρ τε,
οὐδ' εἴ οἱ προπάροιθεν ἀδελφεὸν ἢ φίλον υἱὸν
χαλκῷ δηιόῳεν, ὁ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῷτο.

Then immediately she cast into the wine from which they were drinking a *pharmakon*[44] that takes away grief and takes away anger, and that brings forgetfulness of every ill. Whoever should drink this down when it is

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S and T of Jordan's text (*supra*, note 37) and his translation, both of which include some minor corrections suggested by Maas and Jordan; the uncorrected text is: ὅ με καταχρίστ[ωι δ]ηλήσετοι οὔτε ἐπηνίκτ[ωι] / οὔτε πατῶι [οὔ]τ' ἐπατωγῆι.

43. Maas (*supra*, n. 42) 37. This is especially true since the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* is rarely quoted in extant Greek literature, suggesting that it was not widely known in antiquity; see Richardson (*supra*, n. 38) 67–68.

44. I leave this word untranslated throughout this essay in order to preserve the ambiguity in the Greek between "poison" and "magical spell." See, e.g., Plato *Laws* 933a-d, who as far as I can tell is the first Greek author to directly address the double meaning of *pharmakon* when he divides his laws about *pharmakeia* into two categories, the use of drugs that affect the body according to natural laws and the use of "sorceries *(magganeiai)*, incantations *(epôidai)* and binding spells *(katadeseis)*" to attack the mind. For modern discussions of the difficulties involved in translating *pharmakon*, see C. Pharr, "The Interdiction of Magic in Roman Law," *TAPA* 63 (1932) 272–74, and F. Graf, "An Oracle against Pestilence from Western Anatolia," *ZPE* 92 (1992) 276–77, who discusses the use of the term in Plato and the Tean imprecations (see n. 11, *supra*). Although it is clear from what follows in *Od.* 4 that Homer is thinking explicitly about herbs grown in Egypt, the poet nonetheless sets up some interesting parallels between the magical effect of Helen's drug and the effect of epic song, and seems to be toying with the notion that *pharmakon* = song; see the wide-ranging discussion by A. L. T. Bergren, "Helen's 'Good Drug' (*Odyssey* 4.305)," in S. Kresic, ed., *Contemporary Literary Hermeneutics and the Interpretation of Classical Texts* (Ottawa, 1981) 201–14.

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> mingled in the mixing-bowl, would not—in the course of that day at least—let fall a tear down his cheeks, not even if his mother and father should lie dead nor if before his face someone should slay with bronze his brother or son and he watched it with his own eyes.

The poet goes on to say that the *pharmakon* and Helen's knowledge of how to use it came from Egypt (lines 228–32). The episode is usually interpreted as evidence that the Greeks, by way of Egypt, had learned about the opium poppy, although it remains a puzzle why the Greeks would attribute opiate lore to the Egyptians, when it was in fact invented in Asia Minor, a place much nearer to them.[45]

In later Greek magical practice chemically active drugs are frequently combined with powerful incantations,[46] and it comes as no surprise that lines 221–22 are crowded with *hapax legomena*[47] that may again reflect traditional incantatory language. All three of the adjectives used in line 221 to describe the *pharmakon* appear nowhere else in early epic verse; in fact, νηπενθές and ἐπίληθον only appear again in Greek in literary passages clearly dependent on this one, and the adjective ἄχολον, although it is used elsewhere, appears here uniquely in an active sense of "banishing anger." The verb καταβρόξειεν in the next line also makes its only appearance here in epic, and ἐφημέριος only appears in one other place (*Od.* 21.85). The piling up of adjectives in line 221 is, moreover, reminiscent of the boasting and self-advertising rubrics found in the magical papyri (see below). In addition to such lexical oddities, these lines also closely mimic the syntax of the conditional curses discussed earlier. Here the traditional "wish formula" (cf. the optatives used in the curses of Teucer and Idameneus, discussed *supra*, n. 12) has been adapted without too much trouble to a future less vivid condition spoken by the narrator ("Whoever should drink this [sc. *pharmakon*] down, ... would not let fall a tear ...").

A final clue to the source of the language here is an anecdote about another early hexametrical poet, Empedocles, who once, when his host was threatened by an angry young man, allegedly saved the day by striking up his lyre and reciting a hexameter nearly identical to line 221, an act which immediately calmed the youth's homicidal anger (Iamblichus *V. Pyth.* 113):[48]

45. Scarborough (*supra*, n. 20) 139–40. West, in A. Heubeck, S. West and J. B. Hainsworth, *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey* 1 (Oxford, 1988) *ad loc.* suggests that the additive is κῦφι, a famous Egyptian incense that had a number of uses, including its use as an additive to wine. On the long Greek tradition of recipes for κῦφι, see Scarborough, ibid. 159–61.

46. Scarborough, ibid. 146–61.

47. See West (*supra*, n. 45) *ad loc.*, upon whom the following discussion depends.

48. Text: J. Dillon and J. Hershbell, *Iamblichus: On the Pythagorian Way of Life* (Atlanta, 1991) 13–137. Traditionally scholars have assumed that Empedocles is quoting Homer for magical purposes; see e.g., Heim (*supra*, n. 19) no. 115. In recent years, however, some scholars have claimed that this passage only describes Empedocles' lyre playing and not his singing; see, e.g., M. R. Wright, *Empedocles: The Extant Fragments* (New Haven, 1981) 11, and B. Inwood, *The Poem of Empedocles*, Phoenix Suppl. 29 (Toronto, 1992) 157, who translates (as his Testimonia A15) "Empedocles ... struck up what Homer calls 'pain-dissolving, anger-reducing' music 'which makes one forget

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> Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ ... μεθαρμοσάμενος ὡς εἶχε τὴν λύραν καὶ πεπαντικὸν τὸ μέλος καὶ κατασταλτικὸν μεταχειρισάμενος εὐθὺς ἀνεκρούσατο τὸ
>
> νηπενθές τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἁπάντων
>
> κατὰ τὸν ποιητήν, καὶ τόν τε ἑαυτοῦ ξενοδόχον Ἄγχιτον θανάτου ἐρρύσατο καὶ τὸν νεανίαν ἀνδροφονίας.
>
> And Empedokles, ... since he was holding his lyre, changed the mode, administered a soothing and sedating strain, and immediately began (to sing) Homer's "soother of grief and wrath, oblivion of all ills," and he saved his own host Anchitos from death and the young man from committing murder.

Iamblichus, a philosopher of the fourth century C.E., and nearly all subsequent commentators, interpret Empedocles' action here as an act of "quoting" Homer, but again I do not see how we can dismiss the possibility that Empedocles, a master poet himself who is credited in several other anecdotes with performing ritual acts of protection and healing,[49] was simply employing a popular hexametrical charm for calming grief or anger, and that the *Odyssey* poet had this same traditional charm in mind when describing the power of Helen's *pharmakon*. Whether or not the incident involving Empedocles is true, the picture we get of a poet equally at home in the artistic composition of traditional epic verse (for philosophical exposition) and magical lore may help explain the apparently easy crossover between two genres which we in the modern world might prefer to keep separate.[50]

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everything bad."' The Greek is admittedly vague, but there are clearly three different actions described here: changing the mode (μεθαρμοσάμενος); playing the lyre (μεταχειρισάμενος) and then starting up (ἀνεκρούσατο) something else, i.e., singing. See D. Obbink, "The Addressees of Empedocles," in A. Schiesaro, P. Mitsis and J. S. Clay, eds., *Mega nepios: Il destinatario nell'epos didascalico*, Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici 31 (Pisa, 1994) 80 n. 67 for discussion. The final verb ἀνεκρούσατο, originally used to indicate the beginning of lyre playing (literally "to strike up [the lyre]"), is used as early as Pindar to indicate the beginning of a song (see M. L. West, "The Singing of Homer and the Modes of Early Greek Music," *JHS* 101 [1981] 122 with n. 58, who also cites *Suda* s.v. ἀναχρουόμεθα [= ἀναπροοιμιαζόμεθα] and Polybios 4.22.11, where the verb is used to indicate the beginning of a speech). Since Empedocles was famed for his songs, not his lyre playing, the innovative interpretation of Wright and Inwood hardly seems justified. Here, too, the single line might conceivably be shorthand for a full incantation; see notes 31, 35 and 76.

49. Wright (*supra*, n. 48) 10–14 and Obbink (*supra*, n. 48) discuss the conflation in Empedocles of the roles of didactic poet, doctor, sorcerer and prophet, especially in frag. 102. There is a similar tradition about the seventh-century poet Terpander, who was allegedly summoned to Sparta to cure by singing either a plague (Aelian *VH* 12.50) or a *stasis*, a disastrous communal form of unbridled anger (*Suda* s.v. μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν). For discussion of this tradition, see J. T. Hooker, *The Language and Text of the Lesbian Poets* (Innsbruck, 1977) 59–60.

50. This kind of crossover probably explains one of the most puzzling anecdotes about bards in the *Odyssey*. Nestor, after explaining how Aegisthus was able to "enchant Clytemnestra with words" (*Od.* 3.264: θέλγεσκ' ἐπέεσσιν), says that Agamemnon had in fact appointed a singer (267: ἀοιδὸς ἀνήρ) to watch over his wife and that Aegisthus was unsuccessful in his enchantment until he exiled the singer on a desert isle, where he subsequently perished. But how might an *aoidos*

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I might pose the question in another way: if a mixing bowl had been found in an eighth-century Pithecusan grave inscribed with a suitably adapted version of *Odyssey* 4. 220–23, would we dismiss these verses as a humorous party joke, or would we entertain the possibility that the person who inscribed the text believed that the hexameters would actually dispel grief and anger?[51] Or, to put it the other way around: if we had a long fragment of an indisputably early epic narrative of the preparation of a love charm that included an adaptation of the Pithecusan hexametrical couplet (with its own prosaic *hapax legomena*, e.g., πίησι or ποτήριον), how could we decide which preceded which?

The scant handful of extant late-classical and Hellenistic hexametrical incantations provide a better look at the creative process which lies behind such incantations and their relationship to literary texts. The earliest pertinent example is an as yet only partially published lead tablet in the Getty Museum which preserves a hexametrical charm that was apparently used to protect a house from a variety of evils. The text begins with the following lines (Frag. 1, Side A, lines 2–5):[52]

ὅστις τῶν[δ]' ἱερῶν ἐπεων ἀρίσημα καλύψει
γράμματα κασσιτέρωι κεκολαμμένα λᾶος ἐν οἴκωι,
οὔ νιμ πημανέουσι ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών
οὐδ' ὅσα πόντωι βόσκει ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη{ς}

2 Janko; κολαψας tab.; 3 Jordan; κοκολαμμενα tab.

Whoever hides in a house of stone the notable letters of these sacred verses inscribed in tin, they (i.e., wild animals or demons) shall not harm him, however many the broad earth rears or loud-groaning Amphitrite nourishes in the sea . . .

The text, probably from Selinous, dates paleographically to the mid fourth century, although there are some indications that the scribe was copying a fifth-century

protect the queen? Commentators have alternately supposed: (1) that he sang of virtuous and faithful women and provided moral fortitude; (2) that he was a *castrato*, a bodyguard who doubled as a falsetto-singer; or (3) that we have hints here of some early sacred role of the poet as priest or ritual worker. The scholiasts and Athenaeus (14b) push for the poet as moral teacher, while West (*supra*, n. 45) *ad loc.* offers the best argument for the *castrato* theory. D. L. Page, "The Mystery of the Minstrel at the Court of Agamemnon," in *Studi classici in onore di Q. Cataudella* 1 (Catania, 1972) 127–31 rightly recognizes, however, that the power of the minstrel lay in the magical efficacy of his singing. If we assume that Aegisthus was attempting to enchant Clytemnestra with spells (another possible meaning of θέλγεσχ' ἐπέεσσιν) and that the *aiodos* was an expert in ritual incantations (including those designed to protect people against enchantment), we can understand why a shrewd man like Agamemnon appointed a singer as overseer, and why Aegisthus was stymied until he was exiled. Cf. the previous note for the Spartan tradition about the ritual efficacy of Lesbian *aoidoi*, including the legendary Terpander.

51. West (*supra*, n. 6) 12 suggests cautiously that the first line of an archaic inscription on a fragment of a Rhodian kotyle inscribed much like the Nestor's Cup Inscription (with what appears to be a conditional curse) might refer to the restraint of anger. See nn. 110–12 *infra*.

52. For some tantalizing glimpses of its contents, see D. R. Jordan, "A Love Charm with Verses," *ZPE* 72 (1988) 256–57, and Kotansky (*supra*, n. 23) 127 n. 28. I am grateful to Dr. Kotansky for giving me permission to quote these lines and discuss them briefly in advance of the *editio princeps*.

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exemplar.[53] The spell is stated in the form of a condition that is syntactically very similar to the other conditional formulas quoted above. And like the Nestor's Cup Inscription and the verses in the *Odyssey* used to describe Helen's *pharmakon,* these hexameters are a peculiar combination of distinctly Homeric tags and prosaic words which do not appear anywhere in epic.

A second magical incantation of relatively early date is preserved in a fragment of a papyrus magical handbook discovered at Abusir el Melek in Egypt; the hexameters have been reconstructed by Brashear and others as follows (Column 1, lines 5–14):[54]

ἐπὶ μήλο̣[υ] ἐπ̣ῳδή· τρίς·

βα̣[λ]ῶ μή̣[λ]ο̣ις [c. 4] δ̣ώσ̣ω τόδε φάρμακ[ον] καίριον αἰεὶ
βρωτὸν θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.
ἦ ⟨δ'⟩ ἂν δῶ μήλῳ τε βάλω μήλῳ τε πατάξω
πάντα ὑπερθεμένη μαίνοιτ' ἐπ' ἐμῆι φιλότητι
εἶτ' ἐν χειρὶ λαβο[ῦ]σ̣α φάγοι ⟨ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –⟩
ἢ ἐν κόλπωι καθίσαι ⟨καὶ⟩ μὴ παύσ̣α̣ι̣το φιλῶν με.
⟨πότνια⟩ Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδήν.

Incantation over an apple. (Say it) three times:

> I shall strike with apples ... I shall give this *pharmakon*—always timely ⟨and?⟩ edible—to mortal men and immortal gods. To whichever woman I give or at whichever woman I throw the apple or hit with it, setting everything aside, may she be mad for my love—whether she takes it in her hand and eats it ... or sets it in her bosom—and may she not stop loving me. O lady Kyprogeneia bring to perfection this perfect incantation.

The papyrus itself dates paleographically to the time of Augustus, but the corruption of the meter of the incantation and the fact that it appears in a collection of spells suggest that these particular verses date at least as early as the Hellenistic period and probably even earlier.[55] In particular, the use of the "performative

53. Jordan (*supra*, n. 52) 256.

54. *Supp. Mag.* 72, col. 1, lines 5–14. The text of the incantation is set off from the rest of the recipe by indentation and paragraphoi. With the exception of the addition of ⟨δ'⟩ in line 3 (see below), I print the last five hexameters as they are reconstructed by the editors of *Suppl. Mag.* on p. 110 of the second volume. Although the first two lines were clearly hexametrical at some point in their history, they seem to be corrupt beyond repair. For several possible reconstructions see W. Brashear, "Ein Berliner Zauberpapyrus," *ZPE* 33 (1979) 267, R. Merkelbach *apud* Brashear, R. Janko, "Berlin Magical Papyri 21243: A Conjecture," *ZPE* 72 (1988) 293, and L. Koenen *apud* Janko. In light of the parallels provided by the inscriptions discussed here, e.g., "Nestor's Cup" (ὃς δ' ἂν τοῦδε πίῃσι ποτήρι[ου]), Tataie's cup (ὃς δ' ἂν με κλέψει), and the recently discovered cup fragment from Eretria (ἥ δ' ἂν τοῦδε[; *infra*, n. 110)—all at the beginning of a hexameter—I have added the ⟨δ'⟩ at the beginning of line 3, an addition which also removes an awkward hiatus. For the rare use of a masculine participle in line 6 (φιλῶν με) for the feminine, see Maltomini's comments in *Supp. Mag.*

55. Brashear (*supra*, n. 54) discusses the date of the papyrus and its significance in tracing the origins of Greek magical handbooks. *PGM* XX (the so-called "Philinna Papyrus" quoted and

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future" (δώσω and βαλῶ) and the phrase τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδήν at the end of the final verse point to a much older Greek tradition of magical incantation.[56]

In the Berlin papyrus the boast about the power of the incantation is framed in the traditional form of the "conditional" curse we have encountered elsewhere. Here, as in Teucer's curse in the *Ajax*, the future verb of the "automatic formula" is replaced by the optative of the "wish formula" (see note 12 for the distinction), followed in this case by a request to Aphrodite to bring the wish to fulfillment. In the Getty inscription (discussed above), the protective efficacy of the words of the spell also depends conditionally on their presence in the house to be protected. Here in the Berlin spell, the apple is not inscribed, but rather it is enchanted (i.e., chanted over), a verbal form of "inscription" and not any less effective. And like the Pithecusan incantation, whose power must be triggered by the victim's drinking from the enchanted cup, this spell is also dependent on the actions of the victim, as it only becomes operative when she eats the enchanted apple or takes it in her hand or bosom. Note, too, that in every one of these texts (both epigraphic and literary), the conditional curse starts with an indefinite pronoun at the beginning of a hexameter line and ends at the end of a hexameter, i.e., such formulae seem to be self-contained and therefore easily inserted into or adapted for other hexametrical texts, especially narrative ones.[57] One might argue, of course, that

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discussed below) and *P. Mon. Gr.* inv. 216 (= *Supp. Mag.* 71) are also first-century texts which, despite their very fragmentary state, clearly represent similar, pre-Christian testimonia to a handbook tradition. For a full discussion of the importance of these new finds for the earlier dating of the handbook tradition, see F. Maltomini, "*P. Mon. Gr.* Inv. 216: Formulario magico," in A. Carlini et al., *Papiri letterari greci*, Biblioteca degli studi classici e orientali 13 (Pisa, 1978) 237–66, republished in A. Carlini, ed., *Papiri letterari greci della Bayerische Staatsbibliothek di Monaco di Baviera* (Stuttgart, 1986) 40–55. The very nature of these handbooks, however, points to a long period of accretion. A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* 2 (Cambridge, 1952) 35–36 suggested long ago that the many parallels between the *PGM* rituals and those performed by Simaetha in Theoc. *Id.* 2 show that individual spells or at least isolated details within the spells of the *PGM* handbooks must date at least as early as the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Recent research has shown in particular that hexametrical charms preserved even in late-antique papyri can be traced back to texts composed in the classical period. Jordan (*supra*, n. 52) 256–57, for example, reconstructs a seven-line erotic incantation on a fourth-century C.E. *defixio* using the unpublished late-classical lead phylactery in the Getty Museum as his guide.

56. C. A. Faraone, "Aristophanes *Amphiaraus* Frag. 29 (Kassel-Austin): Oracular Response or Erotic Incantation?" *CQ* 42 (1992) 320–27 suggests that a tradition of hexametrical love charms ending in the phrase τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδήν—it appears many times in *PGM* texts—is parodied by Aristophanes and may even have been known to Sappho. For the peculiar use of a first person future verb to indicate present action in earlier Greek magical texts, see C. A. Faraone, "The 'Performative Future' in Three Hellenistic Incantations and Theocritus' Second *Idyll*," *CPh* 90 (1995) 1–15.

57. There is, for example, some evidence from Roman-period inscriptions that such conditional curses were traditionally expressed in meter even when the rest of the document was written in prose. Strubbe (*supra*, n. 9) 41–42 discusses Greek tombstone curses from Phrygia in which a prose epitaph is often followed by a metrical inscription (albeit often of flawed meter), either a pair of iambic trimeters (the so-called North-Phrygian curse formula, e.g.: τίς ἂν προσοίσει χεῖρα τὴν βαρύφθονον, οὕτως ἀώροις περιπέσοιτο συμφοραῖς) or a pair of dactylic hexameters (the so-called East-Phrygian curse formula). Strubbe and others suggest either a pervasive oral tradition or a handbook of formulas. The existence of such handbooks in the Roman era seems assured by

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since the hexameters in the Berlin papyrus reflect myths like that of the seduction of Atalanta by means of apples, they may themselves possibly be a quotation or an adaptation of some lost epic poem, perhaps even that of Hesiod himself.[58] This is indeed plausible, but the actual use of apples (also enchanted by incantations) as aphrodisiacs in ninth-century Mesopotamia[59] suggests that this type of ritual has a very long history in the eastern Mediterranean, and confronts us again with the recurring problem of deciding which came first, the chicken or the egg: does this charm quote or adapt a narrative poem of some early epic poet, or does it descend directly from some even earlier tradition of hexametrical incantation that may, in turn, have inspired the poetic treatment of Hesiod and others?

Up to this point, I have identified what I consider to be the three hallmarks of early Greek magical incantations: (1) they are hexametrical; (2) they often take the form of a conditional curse; and (3) they employ a curious mixture of familiar epic words and rare prosaic or technical terms. I should like to add a fourth cautiously:[60] the peculiar use of the deictic pronoun that has come to be recognized cross-culturally as a marker for a performative utterance. Take, for example, the familiar English phrase "with *this* ring I thee wed": the words do not describe a marriage but *enact* one as the ring is being placed on the finger of the spouse.[61] This phenomenon is probably best known to classicists from the famous scene in Theocritus 2 (e.g., "Just as I melt *this* wax, so may Delphis waste in love, and as *this* brazen rhombus turns, so too may he turn about my door"), but is, in fact, widely attested in conditional curses of the archaic and classical period, for example in the curse embedded in the oath of the Trojans and Greeks (*Iliad* 3.299–300: ὥδέ σφ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέοι ὡς ὅδε οἶνος), or once again in Teucer's conditional curse to which I have already had ample opportunities to refer (Soph. *Ajax* 1175–79): ἐκπέσοι χθονός ... ῥίζαν ἐξημημένος, αὖτως ὅπωσπερ τόνδ' ἐγὼ τέμνω πλόκον.[62]

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such anomalies as a tombstone from Philomelium (*MAMA* 7.201) that is comprised of a metrical epitaph in the Ionic dialect and a metrical imprecation in Doric.

58. C. A. Faraone, "Aphrodite's ΚΕΣΤΟΣ and Apples for Atalanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual," *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 230–33 reviews and eventually dismisses the possible literary sources beginning with the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* frag. 76.17–23 MW.

59. There are, in fact, indications both in classical Greek folklore and in Neo-Assyrian magical ritual that this type of spell was much older; see Faraone ibid. 234–35.

60. My caution in stressing this point stems from the widespread use of the deictic pronoun in early inscriptions to identify monuments and other articles, a usage that is simply self-referential ("this thing here") and not "performative" in the sense discussed below. It is only when we have this type of pronoun used in conjunction with the other phenomena listed here that it indicates a performative utterance.

61. This famous example goes back, of course, to J. Austin, *How to do things with words* (Oxford, 1962), whose innovative work triggered a reassessment of the use of language in magical rituals, most especially in the work of Tambiah (*supra*, n. 8). For a general discussion of the "deictic field of language" and its application to archaic Greek poetics, see J. Danielewicz, "*Deixis* in Greek Choral Lyric," *QUCC* 34 (1990) 7–17, whose work is extended to early Greek hexametrical incantations by Faraone, "Performative Future" (*supra*, n. 56).

62. Faraone, "Molten Wax" (*supra*, n. 8).

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This widespread "performative" use of the deictic pronoun can help explain a certain oddity in the Nestor's Cup Inscription. In the debate over the restoration of the lacuna in the first line of the inscription, scholars stress the word τῶδε in the second line, which they claim distinguishes the cup at hand (τῶδε ... ποτερί[ο]) from the cup named in the preceding line (Νέστορος ... ποτέριον). To these critics this use of the deictic pronoun cries out for an interpretation that focuses our attention on the putatively humorous disparity between the fabulous cup of Nestor and the simple clay pot from Pithecusae.[63] The use of this pronoun can, perhaps, be better explained (as I have hinted above) as performative language typical of magical incantations. Thus, when the Getty tablet reads: "Whoever hides the notable letters of *these* sacred verses (τῶν[δ]' ἱερῶν ἐπεων)," the deictic pronoun refers to the hexameters that are inscribed on the lead tablet. Similarly, the Berlin apple-incantation refers to the apple over which the spell is spoken as τόδε φάρμακον, a reference that (given the ambiguity of the term; see *supra*, n. 44) could refer self-referentially to both the enchanted apple and the incantation itself. A similar usage is probably reflected in the description of the power of Helen's *pharmakon* (discussed above), which begins: ὃς τὸ καταβρόξειεν. Here, too, the pronoun τό (in Homer = τοῦτο) refers back to the word *pharmakon,* and one can without too much difficulty imagine the beginning of the spell from which this passage was apparently adapted. Thus, I would argue that far from distinguishing the Pithecusan cup from Nestor's cup in the *Iliad*, the deictic pronoun in the inscription (τῶδε ... ποτερί[ο]) seems rather to belong to a long tradition of performative language used in magical rites and other important rituals.

Let me sum up, then, this brief survey of the use of hexameters in magical charms. The gradual trend is from a living oral tradition, in which hexameter poets continually create new charms or variations on old ones as each new situation arises, to a scribal tradition,[64] in which handbooks provide exemplars for most incantations, including (for the first time) verbatim quotations from authoritative hexametrical texts such as the Homeric poems.[65] The late Hellenistic period seems,

63. See note 3 *supra* for the earlier interpretations that assume a clear distinction between the cup at hand and a mythical cup of Nestor. In fact this approach seems based on the widespread misunderstanding that demonstrative pronouns in archaic Greek always imply a third-person verb (i.e., "Here [sc. it is]," never "Here [sc. I am]"). Svenbro (*supra*, n. 3) 31–36 gives an excellent discussion, but I am not persuaded to follow his ultimate inference (p. 34) that *all* unqualified deictic pronouns prior to 550 refer to the first person.

64. J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama: Early Greek Tragedy and the Greek Poetic Tradition*, Sather Classical Lectures 49 (Berkeley, 1985) 3–5. Thomas (*supra*, n. 4), *passim*, stresses the fact, however, that recent work on literacy—by anthropologists and historians working on the early modern periods—suggests that there is never any overnight change and that both oral and scribal traditions can exist side by side for centuries, constantly influencing each other. On this point, see also K. Robb, *Literacy and Paideia in Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 1994) 99–124 for a detailed discussion (following Headlam) of the evidence of the Gortyn law code.

65. There are several well documented instances, mostly dating to the Roman period or later, which involve caches of *defixiones* mass-produced by the same individual(s) working from a

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from the available evidence at least, to have been a watershed, for it is here that we first have evidence of written collections of traditional hexametrical charms that originated as part of the diverse oral tradition discussed above. It is in the late Hellenistic period, too, that we seem to find in Philodemus the first hints of the verbatim quotation of Homeric hexameters for non-literary, ritual purposes (*supra*, note 48). Seen against the backdrop of this historical development, hexameters as old as those on the Pithecusan cup must be understood as an actual magical spell composed or adapted in the oral tradition of hexametrical composition, rather than a quotation or allusion to some canonized version of a famous epic poem. Indeed, given their generally negative view of erotic seizure and their apparently traditional belief in the effectiveness of incantatory language, it is difficult to believe that any Greek of the archaic period would consider the hexametrical couplet inscribed on this cup to be harmless or funny. It remains, however, to explain the puzzling first line of the inscription, with its reference to Nestor, and to speculate as to how and why an oral incantation such as this came to be written down in the first place.

"THE CUP OF NESTOR, GOOD FOR DRINKING": A RUBRIC FOR THE PITHECUSAN INCANTATION?

Any interpretation of the initial line of this inscription is greatly hampered by three problems that are, as far as I can predict, irresolvable: (1) the restoration of the lacuna after Nestor's name; (2) whether the name itself refers to the famous figure of legend or to an otherwise unknown eighth-century inhabitant of Pithecusae; and (3) whether the first line is metrical or not. As it turns out the ongoing debates over questions 1 and 3 have little effect on my thesis. All three of the most likely restorations (εἰμί, μέν or ἐστί) are amenable to my interpretation of

formulary. Over two hundred *defixiones* dating to the third century C.E. from Amathous on Cyprus seem to be written by the same person(s) who used the same elaborate formula over and over again; see D. R. Jordan, "Late Feasts for Ghosts," in R. Hägg, ed., *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence*, Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 13 (Stockholm, 1994) 135. R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchtungstafeln aus Rom* (Leipzig, 1898) published a cache of forty-eight lead tablets from Rome, all of which have similar Greek formulas and drawings on them, suggesting that they, too, were the product of different individuals working from a model. D. R. Jordan, "Defixiones from a Well near the Southwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 205–55 has identified the hand of a professional scribe who carefully inscribed more than twenty lead curse tablets which were deposited in four wells in different parts of the Athenian agora in the third century C.E. There is, of course, evidence that professional magicians were at work in an earlier period. Plato refers clearly to magicians for hire (*Rep.* 364c), and four lead "voodoo" dolls from the Ceramicus (dated ca. 400) seem to have been produced by the same person(s); see D. R. Jordan, "New Archaeological Evidence" (*supra*, n. 18) 273–77. But we need not equate professionalism with literacy and authoritative handbooks. W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age* (Cambridge MA, 1992) 41–87 argues convincingly that already in the eighth century itinerant magicians were instrumental in spreading a variety of ritual technologies around the eastern Mediterranean without the benefit of writing.

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the inscription as a (failed) experiment in rendering a traditionally oral incantation in some standard epigraphic form.[66] And whether the first line is a simple prose statement, an iambic trimeter with initial anaclasis or a catalectic trochaic trimeter is immaterial,[67] as there are examples of both metrical and prose "titles" or "rubrics" in early Greek epigraphy and literature (see below). The problem with the name Nestor is, however, central and requires two separate hypotheses. Dihle, who argued that the hexametrical couplet was simply a *Liebeszauber*, took a similarly straightforward approach to the first line of the inscription, asserting that it was a prosaic statement of ownership by an otherwise unknown man named Nestor.[68] If Dihle is correct, then the first line is simply a proprietary inscription, which is followed (as in the inscription on Tataie's cup) by a conditional magical spell. Given the paucity of data on the use of legendary names in the eighth century, I do not see how anyone can disprove Dihle's hypothesis.[69] If Dihle is wrong, however, about the identity of this Nestor, then I suggest that we interpret the initial line as a rubric or label of the sort that identifies the legendary Gerenian horseman as both the owner of a legendary magical cup and the author of an incantation that by its very presence transforms this plain Pithecusan kotyle into a similarly powerful vessel.

The earliest and best illustration of the kind of rubrics employed in the Greek magical tradition is the so-called "Philinna Papyrus,"[70] which, like the papyrus handbook containing the Berlin apple-spell, dates to the first century and also seems to be a fragment of a collection of hexametrical charms (lines 6–20):

[$^{7-8}$]ας Σύρας ⟨Γ⟩αδαρηνῆς [ἐπαοιδή] πρὸς πᾶν κατάκαυμα

[⟨σεμνοτάτης δὲ⟩ θεᾶς παῖς μ]υστοδόκος κατεκα[ύθη,
ἀκρ]οτάτῳ δ' ἐν ὄρει κατεκαύθη· ⟨πῦρ δ' ἐλάφυξεν⟩
ἑπτὰ λύκων κρήνας, ἑπτ' ἄρκτων, ἑπτὰ λεόντων·
ἑπτὰ δὲ παρθενικαὶ κυανώπιδες ἤρυσαν ὕδωρ
κάλπισι κυανέαις καὶ ἐκοίμισαν ἀκάματον πῦρ.

66. See note 3 *supra* for the various proposed restorations. I shall argue below that the Nestor's Cup Inscription is probably the result of a random experiment of inscribing onto the cup an incantation originally designed to be spoken over it, as in the case, e.g., of the Berlin apple-spell. In addition, I shall suggest that although the inscriber wrote down the hexameters as they appear in the oral charm, he or she adapted the rubric to the evolving conventions of archaic Greek epigraphy. Since the most likely restorations (εἰμί, μέν or ἐστί) all have numerous parallels in early Greek inscriptions, the precise restoration is of little importance to my thesis.

67. Hansen (*supra*, n. 4) 35–40 gives a thorough survey of the various arguments about the meter of the initial line.

68. Dihle (*supra*, n. 6).

69. Neither side can declare victory in the debate over the use of legendary epic names in this period; see Hansen (*supra*, n. 4) 33–35.

70. *PGM* XX and H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin, 1983) no. 900. I give the reconstructed text as it appears on p. 265 of the second volume of *PGM*. P. Maas, "The Philinna Papyrus," *JHS* 62 (1942) 33–38 reconstructed the text by joining *P.Berol.* 7504 and *P.Amherst* ii, Col.II(A) with the help of a fragmentary fourth-century C.E. version of a very similar text, *Supp. Mag.* 88.

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Φιλίννης Θε[σσ]αλῆς ἐπαοιδὴ π[ρὸς] κεφαλῆς π[ό]νον.

φεῦγ' ὀδύν[η] κεφαλῆς φεύγει δὲ [λέων] ὑπὸ πέτ[ρα]ν·
φεύγουσιν δὲ [λύ]κοι, φεύγ[ουσι] δὲ μώνυχες [ἵπ]ποι
[ἱέμενοι] πληγαῖς ὑπ' [ἐμῆς τελέας ἐπαοιδῆς]

The [incantation] of [ ]a, the Syrian woman from Gadara for every inflammation:

[The son of the ⟨most august⟩ goddess,] the initiate was scorched.[71] On the highest mountain he was scorched. ⟨The fire gulped down⟩ seven springs of wolves, seven of bears, seven of lions, but seven maidens with dark-blue eyes drew water with jugs of lapis lazuli and quieted the untiring fire.

The incantation of Philinna from Thessaly for headache:

Flee headache! [Lion] flees under a rock! Wolves flee and single-hooved horses flee propelled by the blows of my perfect charm!

Given the nature of this document (a collection) and the corruption of the meter, scholars have rightly argued that the hexameters themselves, like those in the Berlin papyrus discussed above, most probably had been copied several times previously and then had an even earlier, independent existence in the oral tradition. Indeed, the rather beautiful couplet from the end of the spell of the "Syrian woman from Gadara" has been admired for its poetic artistry and connected with a lost Hellenistic liturgy or an even earlier tradition of healing incantation.[72] Of special interest here is the pattern of presentation: a prose rubric expressed in a somewhat formulaic manner (author's name in the genitive + ἐπαοιδή + the purpose of the spell introduced by the preposition πρὸς)[73] followed by the hexametrical incantation itself.

71. Or, perhaps, "parched." Henrichs in *PGM* and E. N. O'Neil in Betz (*supra*, n. 39) 238 translate the verb καταχάω similarly as "geriet in Brand/was set aflame" and πῦρ as "Feuer/fire," but both words have secondary meanings in Greek medical discourse, such as "to be thirsty or feverish" and "fever." The rubric recommends the incantation πρὸς πᾶν κατάκαυμ[α, an expression that can refer to a fever or a reddish, burning eruption or rash on the skin, such as shingles. A late-antique version of the spell (*Supp. Mag.* 88) has the rubric πρὸς ἐρυθρὰν λόγος, a word that probably refers (like τὰ ἐρυθρά, LSJ s.v.) to reddish eruptions on the skin.

72. Although Maas (*supra*, n. 70) thought the final two hexameters had an "archaic ring" to them, scholars usually suspect that these verses are a Hellenistic composition, perhaps even influenced by Isiac liturgy; see esp. L. Koenen, "Der brennende Horosknabe: Zu einem Zauberspruch des Philinna-Papyrus," *Chr. d'E.* 37 (1962) 167–74, and O'Neil (*supra*, n. 71). More recently, however, C. A. Faraone, "The Mystodokos and the Dark-Eyed Maidens: Multicultural Influences on a Late Hellenistic Charm," in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki, eds., *Ritual Power in the Ancient World* (Leiden, 1995) 297–333 argues that since the myth of salvific women with jugs of lapis lazuli reflects much older Mesopotamian models, we should leave open the possibility that Maas was correct about the archaic date of the last two verses.

73. R. W. Daniel, "A Note on the Philinna Papyrus (*PGM* XX.1–2)," *ZPE* 73 (1988) 306 discusses the formulaic quality of the rubrics.

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A second (albeit much later) example of a handbook containing older metrical spells is a Michigan papyrus dating to the fourth century C.E.[74] Like the incantations collected in the "Philinna Papyrus," it bears a rubric which designates an author (in this case a divine one), whose name also appears first in the genitive case: Ἑκάτης Ἐρεσχιγὰλ πρὸς φόβον κολάσεως ("The ⟨Spell of⟩ Hekate Ereshkigal for fear of punishment").[75] The incantation that follows is an odd jumble of a number of different formulas in a variety of meters, including some hexameters (the so-called *Ephesia grammata*) that first appear on a series of magical texts beginning nearly a millennium earlier with the unpublished Getty tablet discussed above.[76] This practice of identifying incantations and procedures by rubrics is not by any means limited to collections of metrical incantations, as there are numerous rubrics in the extant magical handbooks of late antiquity, which similarly attribute the authorship of spells to deities,[77] famous wise men,[78] or otherwise unknown

74. C. Bonner, *Michigan Papyri* 3 (Ann Arbor, 1936) 123–29 no. 154; *PGM* LXX. See H. D. Betz, "Fragments from a Catabasis Ritual in a Greek Magical Papyrus," *History of Religions* 19 (1979/1980) 287–95 for discussion.

75. As Betz, ibid., points out, the "fear of punishment" in the rubric is ambiguous: it can refer to troubles both in this life and in the next. He argues that this is a case of traditional religion being reused for more pedestrian purposes, but see Z. Stewart, "L'ascesa delle religioni soteriologiche," in R. B. Bandinelli, ed., *La società ellenistica: Economia, diritto, religione*, Storia e civiltà dei greci 8 (Milan, 1977) 530–61, and W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge, MA 1987) 12–29 for the argument that the mystery cults were always concerned with practical as well as eschatological matters. See also M. Smith, "Salvation in the Gospels, Paul, and the Magical Papyri," *Helios* 13 (1986) 63–74; and Kotansky (*supra*, n. 23) 114–16 and 121–22.

76. Jordan (*supra*, n. 52), drawing on ongoing work co-authored by Kotansky, shows that these seven hexameters appear in various states of corruption and abbreviation on: (1) the unpublished fourth-century lead amulet in the Getty Museum (quoted in part and discussed above); (2) an unpublished first-century C.E. silver amulet at Duke University; (3) a late-antique erotic *defixio* (*Supp. Mag.* 49); and (4) the Michigan papyrus under discussion. For the most recent treatment of these verses, see Daniel, *Supp. Mag.* pp. 203–204. Jordan (*supra*, n. 52) 258 suggests that the words καὶ [τ]ὰ ἄλλα and καὶ [τ]ὰ λοιπὰ πά[ν]τα which punctuate the short quotations seem to indicate that the single verses serve as incipits designed to remind the practitioner to recite the entire incantation from memory. For the possible use of incipits in other magical texts, see nn. 31, 35 and 48 *supra*.

77. Ἀφροδίτης ὄνομα (*PGM* IV 1265); Ἀφροδίτης φι⟨α⟩λομαντεῖον (IV 3210); ὀνειραιτητὸν τοῦ Βησᾶ (VIII 65); κύκλος Σελήνης (VII 285); Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτοπτος (VII 727); νικητικὸν θαυμαστὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ (VII 919); ὑποταχτικὸν Ἀπόλλωνος (X 36); and Ἡλίου δεῖξις (XIII 255).

78. Σολομῶνος κατάπτωσις (IV 850); ἀγωγὴ Πίτυος βασιλέως (IV 1930) ἀγωγὴ Πίτυος (IV 2006); Πίτυος Θεσσαλοῦ ἀνάκρισις (IV 2140); Δημοκρίτου παίγνια (VII 169); ὀνειραιτητὸν Πυθαγόρου κ[αὶ] Δημοκρίτου (VII 795); γραῦς Ἀπολλων[ίο]υ Τυανέως ὑπηρετίς (XIa 1); Δημοκρίτου σφαῖρα (XII 351); and προσευχὴ Ἰακώβ (XXIIb). A second-century C.E. amulet from Sicily (*GMA* 32) identifies itself thrice as the φυλακτήριον Μουσέως and contains a variation on the conditional formula discussed earlier: "If you carry it you will not fear the *magos* nor the binding spell, etc." The references to a recipe Ἐκ τοῦ διαδήματος Μουσέως (*PGM* VII 620) or Ἐν τῇ κλειδὶ Μουσῆς (PGM XIII 21, 229 and 382) seem to refer to whole collections of spells; see J. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, SBL Monograph Series 16 (New York 1972) 134–61. See also M. Gaster, "The Sword of Moses," *JRAI* (1896) 3–52 for a similar rubric in a late-antique Hebrew text that has many close affinities to the spells in the *PGM* handbooks.

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people, like the mysterious Philinna of the "Philinna Papyrus."[79] Of special interest are those rubrics that refer to magical spells by designations that call to mind concrete objects that were presumably associated in legend with some powerful or otherwise gifted individual, much like the "Cup of Nestor": ξίφος Δαρδάνου (*PGM* IV 1718); στήλη τοῦ Ἰεου τοῦ ζωγρ(άφου) (V 96); Ἑρμοῦ δακτύλιος (V 214); Σολομῶνος σφραγίς;[80] and Ἀφροδίτης στήλη πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ χάριν καὶ πρᾶξιν καὶ φίλους (VII 215). This last mentioned title follows the same pattern of the late Hellenistic rubrics in the "Philinna Papyrus": first the name of the author/owner in the genitive (Ἀφροδίτης), then the designation of the type of text or spell in the nominative (στήλη) and finally the prescribed use indicated by πρὸς + the accusative. Here, too, the designation "Stele of Aphrodite" seems to refer to the short incantation that is to be inscribed on a small golden tablet, as well as to the final product itself: the inscribed miniature "stele" to be worn about the neck as an amulet. There is a similar ambiguity in the term ξίφος ("sword"), for example in the rubric ξίφος Δαρδάνου (*PGM* IV 1718), where it apparently refers both to the entire ritual (πράξις ἡ καλουμένη ξίφος) and also to the text of seven magical names that is to be inscribed on gold foil (the instructions say: τὸ ξίφος τοῦτο γράφε).[81]

Most of these rubrics are, of course, from the much later magical papyri, and their content (especially the names of famous people) reflects the syncretism of an often bizarre array of non-Greek ethnic and religious traditions. There

79. Φιλτροκατάδεσμος Ἀστραφούκου λόγος (VIII 1); Πιβήχεως δόκιμον (IV 3009); Κλαυδιανοῦ σεληνιακόν (VII 861); ὀνειροπο[μπό]ς Ἀγαθοκλεύς (XII 107); and ὀνειροπομπός Ζμίνιος Τεντυρίτου (XII 123). M. W. Dickie, "The Identity of Philinna in the Philinna Papyrus," *ZPE* 100 (1994) 119–22 suggests that Philinna is the notorious mother of Philip Arridaios, the half-brother of Alexander the Great.

80. The famous "Seal of Solomon" does not to my knowledge appear in any extant Greek magical handbook, but it is mentioned in several inscriptions. P. Perdrizet, "Σφραγὶς Σολομῶνος," *REG* 16 (1903) 42–61 discusses a series of rather late Greek amulets (depicting a man on horseback piercing a supine female with a long spear) that identify themselves as the Σφραγὶς Σολομῶνος. Two of these amulets (Heim [*supra*, n. 19] nos. 61 and 62) have on their reverse versions of a corrupted hexametrical flee-formula not unlike the "Incantation of Philinna" discussed earlier (*supra*, nn. 37 and 69): φεῦγέ με, μισουμένη, Σολομών σε διώκει. See also R. Egger, "Inschriften," *Der Römisches Limes in Österreich* 16 (1926) 135–56, no. 72 lines 8–9 for a second-century C.E. lead *defixio* (written otherwise completely in Latin) which carries the rubric Σολουμ⟨ῶ⟩νος σφραγείς; G. Manganero, "Nuovi documenti magica della Sicilia orientale," *Atti Acc. Linc.* 18 (1963) 67–74 for similarly dated examples from Sicily; and R. Kotansky and J. Spier, "Notes on a Lost Gnostic Gem," *Le Muséon* (forthcoming) for a green gemstone labeled Σολομῶντος {ι} σφραγίς. In this last example, D. Mastronarde suggests that the bracketed *iota* be retained and understood as itacism for the article ἡ.

81. For general discussion see K. Preisendanz, "Xiphos," in W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 4 , cols. 526–27, and R. Mouterde, *Le glaive de Dardanus*, Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph 15.3 (1930) 53–64, esp. 61. Mouterde publishes a gemstone of black jasper inscribed according to the recipe given in *PGM* V. Kotansky, in his commentary on *GMA* 62 (a second-century C.E. gold amulet from Tunisia) suggests that this amulet with an outline of a sword inscribed in the midst of magical names is also a "sword" spell. For the Jewish tradition of the "Sword of Moses," usually a small inscribed gem, see Gaster (*supra*, n. 78).

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is, however, much evidence that despite the patently non-Greek *content* of the later rubrics, their *form* reflects a much earlier Greek convention. The earliest epigraphic examples, such as the graffito on the cup of Tataie (discussed above) or any number of archaic tomb inscriptions, use very similar formulas to identify the owners of monuments or personal items. Indeed this convention is so old that we find it imitated by Homer, in a passage where Hector describes the tomb of one of his victims (*Il.* 7.89–91):[82]

ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος
ὅν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ.
ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει ...

Such simple headings also come to be used in archaic times to indicate ownership of more abstract objects (what we might call today "intellectual property"), especially words or the ideas they express. Thus two of Demodocus' epigrams begin καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκου (frags. 2 and 3 [West]) and Theognis openly mimics the epigraphic convention in his famous *sphragis* (lines 22–23): ὧδε δὲ πᾶς τις ἐρεῖ· Θεύγνιδός ἐστιν ἔπη / τοῦ Μεγαρέως.[83] Even the opening sentences of early prose authors such as Heracleitus (frag. 1 D-K), Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F1), or Herodotus have a vague monumental quality (e.g., Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε).[84] In one famous instance, authorship of a text is directly assimilated to ownership of an object: Hipparchus, the son of the Athenian tyrant, set up herms throughout the city that he had inscribed in the following fashion: μνῆμα τόδε Ἱππάρχου· στεῖχε δίκαια φρονῶν or μνῆμα τόδε Ἱππάρχου· μὴ φίλον ἐξαπάτα. Here the "Mnema of Hipparchus" is both the herm (*mnema* = "a physical monument") and the bit of wisdom (*mnema* = "a reminder") that Hipparchus had inscribed upon it.[85]

82. A. E. Raubitschek, "Das Denkmal-Epigramm," in *L'epigramme grecque*, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 14 (Geneva, 1967) 5–7 = idem, *School for Hellas* (Oxford, 1991) 247.

83. A. Ford, "The Seal of Theognis: The Politics of Authorship in Archaic Greece," in T. J. Figuiera and G. Nagy, eds., *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the Polis* (Baltimore, 1985) 82–95 draws some nice parallels between the *sphragis*, Hector's boast in the *Iliad*, and *mnemata* of Hipparchus (discussed below).

84. L. Koenen, "Der Erste Satz bei Heraklit und Herodot," *ZPE* 97 (1993) 95–96. Koenen points out the significance of the deictic pronoun and suggests the parallel with early monumental inscriptions. Aristotle quotes a different version of Herodotus' first sentence that raises some interesting questions about how Herodotus represented his "nationality" to the Athenians (Ἡροδότου Θουρίου ἥδ' ἱστορίης ἀπόδειξις), but this version also conforms to the archaic pattern of titles discussed. See most recently, J. Dillery, "Herodotus' Proem and Aristotle *Rhetorica* 1409a," *CQ* 42 (1992) 525–29, who suggests that Aristotle purposely altered the title, especially the placement of ἥδε.

85. These two texts are quoted in Ps.-Plato *Hipparchus* 229a-b. See Ford (*supra*, n. 83) for discussion. An inscribed fragment of one of these herms has in fact come to light; see Hansen (*supra*, n. 1) no. 304.

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As one might expect, it is the earliest Greek magical and liturgical texts that most closely reflect the rubrics of the later magical handbooks. Thus a fifth-century Sicilian *defixio* begins: Εὐχὰ Ἀπελλᾶς ἐπὶ φιλότατι τᾶι Εὐνίο ("The prayer [or perhaps "boast"] of Apelles on account of his friendship for Eunikos").[86] The best early example, however, of this kind of a rubric or title is the self-referential first line of the so-called "Orphic" hexameters (now also believed to reflect "Bacchic" views as well[87]) inscribed on pieces of gold foil found at Hipponion and Petelia:[88]

Μνημοσύνης τόδε θρῖον· ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλῃσι θανεῖσθαι
]τόδε γρα[ψάτω
]ΤΟΓΛΩΣΕΙΠΑ σκότος ἀμφικαλύψας.

εὑρήσεις δ' Ἀΐδαο δόμων ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κρήνην,
πὰρ δ' αὐτῇ λευκὴν ἑστηκυῖαν κυπάρισσον, κτλ.

This is the "Leaf[89] of Mnemosyne." When he is about to die ... let [the initiate] write this (?) ... *(lacuna)* ... darkness having covered (him):

> "You will find on the right in Hades' halls a spring, and standing alongside it a ghostly cypress tree, etc."

These verses, which survive in variant or truncated forms in southern Italy, Crete, and Thessaly, indicate a widespread oral tradition of eschatological liturgy, which—like the early hexametrical incantations surveyed above—reflects Homeric diction and vocabulary, but is not dependent on or derivative from epic narrative

86. A. P. Miller, *Studies in Sicilian Epigraphy: An Opisthographic Lead Tablet* (Diss. Univ. Michigan, 1973) 65–110.

87. They were traditionally labeled "Orphic" (e.g., O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* [Berlin, 1922] nos. 32a-g), but G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971) 277–385 calls them "Pythagorean," and W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge MA, 1987) 34 describes them as "Bacchic" in light the *bacchoi* in line 16 of the Hipponion tablet. The new texts from Pelinna (*SEG* 40.485)—which are inscribed on gold foil cut out in the form of an ivy leaf (a Dionysiac symbol) and which mention salvation offered by Lysios (i.e., Dionysus Lysios)—give added weight to the Bacchic interpretation; but see F. Graf, "Dionysian and Orphic Eschatology: New Texts and Old Questions," in T. H. Carpenter and C. A. Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus* (Ithaca, 1992) 239–58, who finds evidence of a long tradition of assimilation between the Orphic and Bacchic traditions here.

88. I give here the text and translation—with one minor exception (see the following note)—of the fifth-century archetype reconstructed by R. Janko, "Forgetfulness in the Golden Tablets of Memory," *CQ* 34 (1984) 89–100, who restores the meter and the standard epic dialect. The rubric (lines 1–3) appears in full only at the end of the tablet from Petelia, while the first line appears at the beginning of the Hipponion tablet and as the third line of the much later Roman-era text commissioned by Caecilia Secundina (*GMA* 27; see next note). See Janko, ibid., for full bibliography and discussion.

89. I translate θρῖον here as "leaf," its usual meaning. Janko (*supra*, n. 88) presumably is following West (*infra*, n. 92) when he translates it without comment as "tablet"; West cites the analogy of the development of the word πέταλον ("leaf") to mean "(gold) leaf" and then "(gold) foil" or "(gold) tablet" (*infra*, n. 91). The tablet has ϵριον; other suggestions include ἠρῖον ("tomb") or σρῖον (Laconian dialect for θρῖον). A related gold tablet—inscribed some seven centuries later for a Roman noblewoman named Caecilia Secundina—reads (*GMA* 27): Μνημοσύνας τόδε δῶρον, ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν. See Janko (*supra*, n. 88) 91–92, and Kotansky, *GMA* 27 *ad loc.* for discussion.

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poetry.[90] Here, as in the "Mnema of Hipparchus" and the "Stele of Aphrodite," we seem to have an early example of a rubric (here comprising a noun and deictic pronoun: τόδε θρῖον) referring ambiguously both to the object bearing the inscription (the gold "leaf")[91] and the text inscribed on it.[92] Most important, however, is the fact that the first line identifies "this leaf" (i.e., the inscribed tablet unearthed at Hipponion) as the "Leaf of Mnemosyne," much the same as the first line of our inscription identifies the Pithecusan kotyle as the "Cup of Nestor."[93]

In light of the labels and rubrics discussed above, I suggest that "Cup of Nestor," like "Sword of Dardanus," "Stele of Aphrodite" or "Leaf of Mnemosyne," may have been a traditional designation for both the text inscribed on the cup and the cup itself (once it has been properly enchanted by the spell). A title such as "Cup of Nestor" certainly follows the pattern of rubrics outlined above for the later magical papyri, where a spell is attributed to a wise man of antiquity and can sometimes be assimilated to an object closely associated with this man in

90. Janko (*supra*, n. 88).

91. The two texts that carry the rubric (from Petelia and Hipponion) are inscribed on rectangular sheets of gold foil. The most recent texts, however, from Pelinna (*supra*, n. 87; they have different texts and do not have any rubric) are inscribed on gold foil cut in the form of an ivy leaf, a fact that suggests: (1) that West's reading *thrion* ("leaf") is in fact correct; and (2) that it may have had a hitherto unattested double meaning in the tradition, much like the word *petalon* in later Greek; see LSJ s.v. II and Kotansky (*supra*, n. 23) 129–30 n. 46. In the last twenty years several inscribed gold-foil "leaves" have been reported, all of which are connected with eschatological beliefs of some sort. Three in the shape of "laurel leaves" have turned up, for example, in Hellenistic graves in Aigion, each inscribed with the word μύστης (*Arch. Delt.* 32 [1977] B1 94 and *Arch. Delt.* 42 [1987] B1 152). In 1989, a similarly shaped leaf was discovered in a fourth-century grave at Pella with the following text: Φερσεφόνηι Ποσειδίππος μύστης εὐσεβής; see M. W. Dickie, "The Dionysiac Mysteries at Pella," *ZPE* 109 (1995) 81–86. The word *thrion* itself is extant primarily in Attic comedy (see LSJ s.v.) and appears to be somewhat prosaic, suggesting that here, too, we have a prosaic or technical term, much like *petalon* and *poterion*, embedded in a ritual hexametrical text.

92. And one which perhaps even provides instructions on how to prepare the tablet, if the reconstruction of lines 2–3 by M. L. West, "Zum neuen Goldplättchen aus Hipponion," *ZPE* 18 (1975) 229–36 is correct: "When he is about to die, let him write this (i.e., the θρῖον = the following text) ...." West rightly refers to the first line of the text as "eine Art Titel zum Talisman" and compares Ἀφροδίτης στήλη πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ χάριν καὶ πρᾶξιν καὶ φίλους (*PGM* VII 215), which I discuss above. He uses other parallels from the later magical handbooks to reconstruct line 2 hypothetically as follows: [ἐν πίνακι χρυσέῳ] τόδε γρα[ψάτω ἠδὲ φορείτω]. For the combination of a rubric followed by instructions inscribed on the tablet itself, see the Austrian *defixio* discussed above in note 80 and *GMA* 32 (the "Phylactery of Moses," *supra*, n. 78): "On a gold leaf (*petalon*), make a *logos* (of) six (letters): ΣΑΒΑΟΘ. [It is necessary] to make an offering of myrrh with frankincense." Kotansky (*supra*, n. 23) 114–15 suggests that the later Greek tradition of inscribing gold and silver foil with prophylactic charms may even have evolved from these "Orphic" lamellae. One wonders if lines 2–3 of the "Leaf of Mnemosyne" did not contain a conditional formula (much like that quoted above from lines 2-5 of the Getty amulet), e.g., (paraphrase): "This is the 'Leaf of Memory.' [Whoever] writes this [on gold leaf and carries it] ... (will be saved?) ... (even though?) darkness ... having covered him."

93. An inscribed late fourth-century gold tablet from Pherai preserves an enigmatic prose text with the rubric ΣΥΜΒΟΛΑ followed by a several pairs of words or phrases. I thank Prof. W. Burkert for knowledge of this text. The *editio princeps* (non vidi) is P. C. Chrysostomou, Ἡ Θεσσαλικὴ Θεὰ Ἐν(ν)οδία ἢ Φεραία Θεά (Diss. Thessaloniki, 1992) 375-98.

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the epic tradition.[94] The word ποτήριον itself may provide some confirmation as it is a *hapax* as far as epic verse is concerned, and like the many other similarly non-literary words found in early magical hexameters or descriptions of magic in epic narrative (e.g., ὑποταμνόν or ἐπηλυσίη, both in the *Hymn to Demeter*, discussed above) it seems to be a technical term of sorts in the later Greek magical tradition, appearing twice in one late-antique magical handbook (*PGM* VII) to mean "cup-spell," a designation for a type of love-potion administered by drinking. I give the text and translation of the first instance as an example (*PGM* VII 385–89):

> Ποτήριον καλόν. ἐ[π]ὶ ποτηρίου λέγε ζ′· Κανωπῖ[τι] προιη ρωδοχ[ ]φ καλυψας ερεκιν ποθηξας ερατευν μορφυς Χάρις Φαφιετι Εἶσι ω Βούβαστι Ποθωπι, ἐξορκίζω ὑμᾶς, ἅγια ὀνόματα τῆς Κύπριδος, ὅπως, ἐὰν καταβᾶτε εἰς τὰ σπλάγχ⟨ν⟩α τῆς δεῖνα, ⟨ἣν⟩ ἡ δεῖνα ποιῆσαι φιλεῖν. κοινά.
>
> A Good Cup-Spell. Over a cup say seven times: "Kanôp[iti] proiê rôdoch[.]ph kalupsas erekin pothêxas erateun morphus Charis Phaphieti Eisi ô Boubasti Pothôpi,[95] I conjure you, holy names of Kypris, so that if you descend into the guts of NN, whom NN [bore], make her love me!" [State] the usual things (i.e., desires).

Like the Berlin spell sung thrice over an apple, this incantation is recited over a *poterion* that is subsequently charged with a magical spell. Once again the spell can only be effective if a certain condition is met: just as the efficacy of the Berlin apple-spell depends on contact with the hand, mouth or bosom of the victim, so here, too, the drink must first descend into the digestive tract of the intended victim. A nearly identical condition, but employing a third-person imperative in the apodosis, is used in another spell identified as a ποτήριον λίαν θαυμαστόν (*PGM* VII. 642). The *logos* that is recited seven times into (εἰς) the *poterion* ends as follows: ἐὰν καταβῇς εἰς τὰ σπλάγχνα τ[ῆς] δεῖνα, φιλησάτω με, τὸν δεῖνα, [εἰς τὸ]ν ἅπαντα τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς χρόνον ("If you go down into the guts of so-and-so, let her love me, so-and-so, for her entire life").[96]

94. See above, nn. 77–80.

95. This string of words was apparently once a series of names (some in Greek and some in demotic Egyptian) of Aphrodite-Isis. See the review of the second volume of *PGM* by K. W. Schmidt, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* (1934) 172–73 for an alternate reconstruction.

96. *PGM* VII.650–51. Another somewhat similar spell (*PGM* VII. 620–28) allegedly from "The Diadem of Moses" (apparently a collection of spells, see n. 78 *supra*) does not include the "conditional curse" in the incantation itself, but one does appear in a boast inserted in the instructions for the *praxis:* ἐπὰν δὲ ἐπὶ ποτ[ή]ρια εἴπῃς καὶ δώσῃς γυναικί, φιλήσει σέ (line 624). A fourth spell from the same handbook, called a πότισμα καλόν provides a different sort of parallel to the Nestor's Cup Inscription, because the incantation is inscribed on a sheet of papyrus rather than spoken aloud (*PGM* VII 970–71): λαβὼν χαρτίον ἱερατικὸν ἐπίγραφε· Ιάω ω εσταβισασηι τουρεωσαν αθιαχνιωουηνου αχημαχου. φιλείτω με ἡ δεῖνα τῆς δεῖνα, ... πιοῦσα τὸ ποτὸν. Unfortunately, like many of the spells in the magical handbooks, this recipe is apparently incomplete, and we miss the explicit connection between the written words and the drink mentioned in the last

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Note that the rubrics of both these late-antique cup-spells carry adjectives designed to advertise the efficacy of the spell (καλόν and λίαν θαυμαστόν), not unlike the adjective εὔποτον used in the first line of the Nestor's Cup Inscription. Note, too, that in these later recipes, the word *poterion* can refer to an actual cup and to the magical spell itself ("cup-spell"), much the same as the word *mnema* in Hipparchus' epigrams refers to both the herm and the philosophic advice inscribed there and the word *thrion* on the "Orphic" tablet refers to the gold leaf as well as to the text inscribed on it. The likelihood that *poterion* could have had such a double meaning as early as the eighth century increases when we note a grafitto from a fragmentary sixth-century cup dedicated to Aphrodite at Naucratis: Δωρὶς φίλ[τρον Ἀφροδίτῃ].[97] In this case the inscription is dedicatory, but if the restoration is correct, it may provide yet another example of a later "prosaic" technical term (φίλτρον = "love charm" or "love potion" as in, e.g., the rubrics at *PGM* VII 460 and 463 or XIII 319) employed in archaic times to refer also to a concrete object, in this case a plain black and red drinking cup. We might imagine that the cup had been enchanted orally and used as a love spell for years (successfully and hence the dedication?) until it was inscribed and dedicated in the temple. Given the connection between prostitutes and Aphrodite in seaports, this cup may have been seen by its owner as an important part of her successful career.

If, then, as I have suggested, the word *poterion* refers in the later Greek magical tradition to a "cup-spell," why would such a tradition have attached itself to Nestor? In general terms, it is not difficult to understand why Nestor, like Apollonius of Tyana or Moses in the late-antique world, would in legend attract the power of a sorcerer. His remarkable longevity and vigor had long been marked as supernatural, and it may be significant that he appears to have maintained his sexual vigor against all chronological odds (Aristotle frag. 144). He also appears once as a healer of sorts, when he has his servant prepare a mixture of Pramnian wine, barley and grated cheese for Machaon in his famous *depas* (*Il.* 11.632–37). Scholars have also argued that this same cup may have appeared in some lost epic where it was, perhaps, used in an erotic spell, perhaps in an incident in the lost epic *Cypria*, in line with the theme suggested by its title.[98] There is, however, another strand of Greek legend concerning Nestor that to my knowledge has yet to be addressed in connection with the Nestor's Cup Inscription, an Italian tradition about a special cup of Nestor dedicated at a temple in Capua (Athen. 11.466e):

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line. Parallels from other magical spells suggest that the inscribed papyrus is to be plunged into a drink, which is then given surreptitiously to the victim.

97. E. A. Gardiner, *Naukratis* 2 (London, 1888) 66 no. 798, inscribed on "a plain Black and Red bowl."

98. Hansen (*supra*, n. 4) 43 cites a fragment of the *Cypria* (frag. 13 [Allen] = Ath. 35c) in which someone (Nestor?) tells Menelaos that the gods have made wine to scatter the concerns of humankind. He suggests that in the poem Nestor provided his friend with a cure for grief not unlike the *pharmakon* of Helen described in the *Odyssey* (discussed above in detail).

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"We know of a lettered cup (ποτήριον) of this sort dedicated to Artemis at the city of Capua in Campania, a silver one constructed according to the verses of Homer, and holding [sc. an inscription of] hexametrical verses (τὰ ἔπη) in gold letters that say it is Nestor's (ὡς τὸ Νέστορος ὄν)."[99] Thus it would seem that an actual artifact called "Nestor's Cup" was still recalled at the beginning of the third century C.E., a cup that held a hexametrical inscription (τὰ ἔπη) proclaiming its ownership, perhaps with the same initial formula as the cup from Pithecusae.[100] Such dedications of cups and bowls by legendary heroes were not, of course, uncommon,[101] and some were even revered as objects of cult and thought to hold magical powers.[102] The cup dedicated at Capua is of importance, however, because it may signal an epichoric tradition in the neighborhood of Pithecusae that linked the legendary Nestor to a special cup.

Let me sum up then, the tentative conclusions of this second part of my essay. We can, it seems, interpret the first line of the Nestor's Cup Inscription either as a bona fide proprietary inscription of a man named Nestor (as Dihle would have it) or as a label or rubric of a more ambiguous sort, like the "Mnema of Hipparchus" or the "Leaf of Mnemosyne," which might refer both to the text inscribed on the cup and to the cup itself. In the second instance, such a rubric probably became attached to Nestor because of his great fame (already in the eighth century) as a Solomonic wise man, because of a local Campanian tradition about a cup of his dedicated at Capua, or, most likely, from a combination of both. One question

99. Athenaeus mentions the same cup in another passage (489b-c): "[It] can even now be seen in the Campanian city of Capua, a cup (ποτήριον) dedicated to Artemis, the very one which the Campanians say was Nestor's cup. It is silver with Homeric hexameters (τὰ Ὁμηρικὰ ἔπη) stamped in gold letters." Here Nestor's ownership of the cup is attributed to local legend, and the content of the hexametrical inscription is not revealed. Athenaeus' information probably derives from a lost treatise "On Nestor's Cup" written by the first-century writer Asclepiades of Myrlea, to whom Athenaeus refers elsewhere. Asclepiades spent much of his life in Rome and its environs (see R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* [Oxford, 1968] 272–73) and may have reported his autopsy of the cup at Capua.

100. I disagree with Casaubon (*apud* Schweighäuser's 1804 commentary) who, citing Nero's "Homeric cups" as a parallel (Suet. *Nero* 47), believes that the phrase ἔχον τὰ ἔπη refers not to hexameters but rather to reliefs on the cup which depicted scenes from the Homeric poems.

101. For example, the city of Cicaeum just south of Actium boasted a *patera* of Odysseus (Strabo 5.3.6), and there survived at Zeus' temple at Dodona brazen kraters that held archaic inscriptions naming Aeneas and his crew as the men who dedicated them (Dion. Hal. 1.51.1). Dionysius also speaks of a *patera* inscribed with Aeneas' name in archaic letters at the temple of Hera in Croton (1.51.3). See F. Pfister *Der Reliquienkult in Altertum*, RGVV 5 (Leipzig, 1909) 332–33 for a full discussion.

102. Agamemnon's scepter was worshipped by the Chaeronians as the greatest of the gods and given daily blood sacrifice (Paus. 9.40.11). The "Shield of Abas" dedicated at Argos was apparently used as an apotropaion to put an enemy to flight (Hyg. 170; Ovid *Met* 15.164; Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.286). Achilles' spear was used to cure Telephus' wound and later, according to a local Trojan legend, it fell from Odysseus' homeward-bound ship and miraculously made its way back to Troy where it washed up on Aias' tomb (Paus. 1.35.4); it was eventually dedicated in a temple of Athena in Phaselis (Ptol. *Nov. Hist.* p. 192 [West]; cf. *Anth. Pal.* 115 and 116), where one might guess that it was sought after as a cure for wounds.

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remains, however: we can easily speak about titles or rubrics in a "book culture," but does this make any sense in the "song culture" of the late eighth century? Recent work on oral cultures reveals that they are no less sophisticated than literate ones and that they, too, can organize large bodies of information in special systems that facilitate generic composition or recall. I suggest that the corollary of the rubric in an oral culture might be a mnemonic device for recalling a specific type of incantation. Thus when a ritual-worker wanted to recite an "Orphic" text over a dead or dying man, he or she would recall the opening line ("This is the Leaf of Mnemosyne") and then, as the variation in the extant tablets shows, continue with a composition that probably combined memorized bits and generic composition.[103] Similarly, when one wanted to enchant a cup for erotic purposes, one had only to recall Νέστορός ... εὔποτον ποτέριον and then continue on from there, adapting and creating a charm to suit the specific context.

Finally, how or why did this type of charm—which as the apple-spell and the late-antique *poteria*-spells suggest was probably designed to be *spoken* over a cup—come to be written down at such an early period of Greek history? I would suggest that this inscription is, in fact, an interesting witness to the early development of the Greek magical tradition, as it reveals the problems which arise in an age of incipient literacy when an oral incantation is inscribed for the first time. This movement from oral to written text, as recent work on orality and literacy suggests, often involves wild experimentation in the newly established written forms.[104] In the case of the "Orphic" gold tablets, the experiment was obviously successful, as the practice is attested from the fifth century onwards in widely separated areas in the Greek world and continued for nearly a thousand years. Other experiments, however, were not so fruitful. In the case of the Attic *defixiones* of the classical period, for example, we find a number of unique and eventually unsuccessful forms.[105] The most popular early form of the rite was simply to inscribe the victim's name, without any patronymic or demotic, on a lead tablet, and then roll it up and pierce it with a nail. Out of more than two hundred extant Attic examples, only two mimic the somewhat stiff conventions of public inscriptions, carefully laying out in a very formal manner the full names of the victims in columns headed by a phrase that is common on public monuments of the period: ἀγαθῇ τυχῇ· θεοί. Another scant handful of examples are composed in the form of epistles to various chthonic deities, whose names are suitably addressed on the outside of the rolled-up lead scrolls. Both of these experimental forms, however, failed to catch on in the long tradition of Greek binding curses and never appear again. I suspect that the same kind of failed experimentation may

103. Janko (*supra*, n. 88) has shown that the variants in these texts show ongoing oral composition and startling variations, including the location (on the right or left) of the proper spring to drink from in order to insure immortality.

104. E.g., Thomas (*supra*, n. 4) 61.

105. See Faraone, "Agonistic Context" (*supra*, n. 8) 4 for a fully documented discussion of what follows.

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have been at work in the inscription under discussion, where an oral incantation, connected somehow with the legendary Nestor, is inscribed onto a cup, with the result (as in the *defixiones* discussed above) that the visual presentation and syntax of the rubric are assimilated and to some degree confused with that of contemporary cup-inscriptions such as that on Tataie's cup.

The main reason for my skepticism about any real Greek tradition of *inscribed* magical cups is the obvious fact that despite the incredible durability of glazed terra cotta (even when broken, fragments survive intact), there are to my knowledge only two other vaguely possible early examples of inscribed magical cups, both frustratingly lacunose.[106] The first is the fragmentary foot of a fifth-century Attic calix-cup inscribed on its underside with what appears to be a bit of iambic verse (ε]ἴ μοι γένοιτ[ο that may reflect a line from a lost poem of Hipponax: εἴ μοι γένοιτο παρθένος, καλή τε καὶ τέρεινα ("Grant that I might have a young girl, beautiful and tender").[107] If we follow others in restoring παρθένος at the end of the phrase, we might suppose that this verse was part of an erotic magical incantation employing a wish formula, a type of formula used sparingly in Attic *defixiones* of the classical period.[108] It is just as likely, however,

106. In addition to the two cup-inscriptions discussed below, I know of only three other possible examples of inscribed cup-spells. E. Diehls, "Magica Bosporana," *Acta Universitatis Latviensis* 57 (1931) 391–400 published a small, one-handled cup from Panticapaeum that has on its interior surface an inscription dating to the fourth century, which he identified as a *defixio* against five men whose names allegedly appear in the inscription. A. Wilhelm, "Magica Bosporana," *JÖAI* 27 (1932) 261–64 has shown, however, that the list is not comprised of proper names of individuals, but rather of common nouns in the genitive, all of which refer to food. The purpose of this inscription remains a puzzle. The second example is a pair of late-antique lead squares that preserve an enigmatic text stamped in an inscribed circle. H. Rumpf, "Griechische Inschriften aus Trier und Xanten," *BJ* 50/51 (1871) 153–56 no. 3—who knew only of the example from Xanten—gives the following text and translation: κυλιχ⟨ίδιον⟩ τουτεῖ νό⟨σον⟩ ἀν⟨ι⟩αρ⟨ὰν⟩ ἐλάτ⟨τ⟩ω πο⟨ι⟩εῖ, "Das Büchschen hier (mit seinem Medicamenten) macht eine beschwertliche Krankheit gelinder." Rumpf argued that the square was the lid to a medicine box and that the word κυλιχίδιον here is the equivalent (like κυλίχνιον; see *Suda* s.v.) of πυξίδιον. The word (a diminutive of κύλιξ, "cup"), the use of the deictic pronoun and the circular pattern of the letters suggest to me that this text may originally have been inscribed around the lip of a cup that was used (with or without the medicines suggested by Rumpf) in magical cures. P. Weiss, "Zu Zwei Spiegalinschriften aus Xanten und Sucidaura," *ZPE* (1992) 197–99 suggests implausibly that the lead squares were mirrors used in love-magic and emends κυλιχ to κυ⟨χ⟩λι{χ}⟨ον⟩ ("little circle"), which he sees as a possible designation for mirror. Finally, see Heim (*supra*, n. 19) no. 161 for the instructions in the *Geoponica* (7.14) for inscribing a wine cup or wine jug with the following incantation to render the wine powerless: γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι Χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος. Compare the instructions, also from the *Geoponica*, for the recitation of an Homeric verse over a cup of wine for the same purpose (*supra*, n. 29).

107. Berlin Museum für Volkerkunde inv. 10984. J. Boehlau, "Ein neuer Erosmythos," *Philologus* 60 (1901) 329 identified the inscription as part of Hipponax, frag. 119 (West), a fragment quoted in the *Et. Mag.* (s.v. αἴ) as an example of εἰ used as an equivalent of εἴθε in Greek prayers.

108. For this simple form of a wish formula in *defixiones*, see Faraone, "Agonistic Context" (*supra*, n. 8) 5. One wonders if Hipponax' poem were part of a prayer or hymn (like Sappho fr. 1 Voigt) requesting Aphrodite or Eros to bring a lover, which itself reflects traditional Greek erotic

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that it was part of a prayer connected with some part of the Greek courtship or wedding ritual.[109]

The only good evidence for another early inscribed magical cup is the recently published fragments of a late eighth-century Rhodian kotyle from Eretria that is astonishingly similar in size, style and manufacture to the Pithecusan cup; it also bears a very similar three-line inscription in Euboian script in rare continuous retrograde (i.e., Phoenician style). The Eretrian inscription runs as follows:[110]

[.]οθυμοκα[- - -]
ηεδαντο[- - -]
[-]μαλᾳ[- - -]

Since the second line can easily be construed as ἥ δ' ἂν τοῦ—the beginning of a hexameter very much like that of the second line of the Nestor's Cup Inscription, ὃς δ' ἂν τοῦ (and, for that matter, similar to the third line of the Berlin Apple incantation, ἥ ⟨δ'⟩ ἂν δῶ)—the original editors suggested that here, too, we have a hexametrical couplet preceded by a single introductory line containing the owner's name (τοῦ Θυμοκά[ρτου), although they fretted about the use of the article. Stephanie West has recently made the intriguing suggestion that the first line could alternatively be read as τ]οῦ θυμοῦ κα[and that the cup may have been used magically to restrain anger,[111] much like the spell used by Empedocles to calm a young man's anger over the conviction of his father on a capital charge (discussed above). One might even push her suggestion further and restore τ]ὸ θυμοκά[τοχον ("the anger restraining spell"), yet another non-literary, technical term used often as a rubric in the later magical handbooks. If this is correct—and the extraordinarily close parallels between the two cups and their inscriptions seem to warrant the suggestion that both cups had rubrics[112]—we may have yet another example of a cup inscribed with a prosaic rubric followed by a short hexametrical incantation, this one designed to calm the anger of whichever woman drinks from

magic; see A. Cameron, "Sappho's Prayer to Aphrodite," *HTR* 32 (1939), 8–10; C. Segal, "Eros and Incantation: Sappho and Oral Poetry," *Arethusa* 7 (1974), 148–49; and Faraone (*supra*, n. 58) 323–24.

109. Compare the brief wish of Nausicaa (*Od.* 6. 244: αἴ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοιόσδε πόσις κεκλημένος εἴη) and a very similar hexametrical line quoted by the scholiast, *ad loc.*, from one of Alcman's *partheneia* (*PMG* 81): Ζεῦ πάτερ, αἴ γὰρ ἐμὸς πόσις εἴη. Of course we need not draw any clear line between a religious ritual concerned with courtship and marriage and a magical ritual designed to seduce; see Faraone (*supra*, n. 58) 230–38 for a discussion of the use of an enchanted apple in both Greek wedding ceremonies and in erotic spells.

110. A. W. Johnston and A. Andriomenou, "A Geometric Graffito from Eretria," *ABSA* 84 (1989) 217–20 (with pl. 41), and Ridgway (*supra*, n. 1) 149. I give the text here as it appears in Jeffrey-Johnston (*supra*, n. 1) 434 no. B(i).

111. S. West (*supra*, n. 6) 12.

112. One cannot help but be impressed by the extraordinarily close similarities between the two cups (both of the same Rhodian manufacture, date, color and size): the alphabet, arrangement and placement of the inscription (both in Euboian script and continuous retrograde, and both apparently beginning under a handle in the black border and passing over into the geometric design) and the syntax of the beginning of the second line (apparently the beginning of a conditional curse).

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it. Given the very close commercial and cultural contacts between Euboia and Pithecusae in the late eighth century, I suggest that these two cup inscriptions are, like the two Attic *defixiones* with the neat columns and the heading ἀγαθῇ τυχῇ· θεοί,[113] most likely the result of idiosyncratic experimentation by the same individual.[114] Certainly, if one of the two eccentric *defixiones* had been discovered at a famous colony of Athens, the same inference might be drawn.

CONCLUSION

I have argued above that we should indeed take a serious look at the claims made by the inscription on the Pithecusan cup. There are, in fact, no grave difficulties in thinking that the person who inscribed the text or the person who owned it believed that whoever they gave the cup to drink from would indeed be seized by desire for love-making. As we have seen, the hexametrical couplet (lines 2–3) has the same metrical and syntactical form as curses and other early metrical incantations, while the first line can be linked (albeit loosely and in different ways) to both the magical tradition of the *poterion*-spells in *PGM* VII and the Campanian tradition of the inscribed *poterion* dedicated by Nestor. The later cup-spells may, in fact, have evolved from the type of spell we see in the Pithecusan inscription. Both employ simple and apparently traditional rituals which involve inscribing or speaking an incantation into a cup—an incantation that regularly includes a conditional curse triggered by the act of drinking. The syntax of the Berlin apple-incantation suggests, moreover, that this general type of spell existed at least as early as the Hellenistic period. In the light of this apparent tradition, I have suggested that the initial lines of the "Nestor's Cup Inscription" and the "Leaf of Mnemosyne" probably reflect an earlier oral tradition of mnemonic devices designed to organize large bodies of information and to help recall types of oral incantations. Both of these texts probably represent the first cautious steps (in the latter case successful, in the former not) from an era of oral composition and repertory to one nearly a millennium later of written handbooks, where such incipits survive as the rubrics in the later Greek magical papyri.

At the heart of my method is an assumption that is not uncontroversial: I believe that there is an unbroken tradition of the use of hexametrical incantations in the Greek world from the Bronze Age down to the end of antiquity. Only

113. Another good example from Athens is the series of four bound and inscribed lead effigies, dating to the end of the fifth century, from two different graves in the Ceramicus, that are rightly thought to be the idiosyncratic work of the same person or group of persons. See note 65 *supra* for discussion.

114. These two types of spells (erotic and anger restraint) are, moreover, closely related in the Greek magical tradition, since one increases the affection of a partner by decreasing their anger. Thus, for example, Hera, in the *Dios Apate* episode, mendaciously asks to borrow Aphrodite's *kestos himas* on the grounds that she wants to heal the anger of her quarreling parents, but then she uses it instead to seduce her own husband. See Faraone (*supra*, n. 58) 220–29 for full discussion.

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against the backdrop of such a tradition, I think, can the Nestor's Cup Inscription be clearly understood. Aside from the Pithecusan cup and its Eretrian cousin, the late-classical lead amulets from Phalasarna and Selinous and the golden "Leaves of Mnemosyne" provide the earliest indications that such oral incantations are beginning to be written down. As the Pithecusan inscription predates these other texts by almost three centuries, it certainly is an anomaly. But the same could be said no matter how we interpret it. Indeed, it is equally anomalous as the first inscribed Greek joke, the first inscribed Greek literary allusion or the first inscribed Greek *skolion!* It is, in fact, the notorious stability and conservatism of magical traditions generally that encourages my approach and makes it preferable to the current literary interpretations of this inscription. Versions of the "Orphic" *lamellae* (*supra*, n. 85), for instance, survive from the fifth century down to the Roman period, albeit with some alterations, confusions and truncations, and I know of at least two traditions of Greek hexametrical spells that seem to have lasted for close to a millennium: the coda τέλει τελέαν ἐπαοιδήν at the end of hexametrical charms is first attested in Aristophanes and shows up in fourth- and fifth-century C.E. magical handbooks (*supra*, n. 56), and the hexametrical "Ephesia Grammata" appear on the late-classical Getty tablet and in a number of Roman and late-antique magical texts (*supra*, n. 60). With such compelling examples of the stability and longevity of Greek ritual hexameters in mind, we must try to imagine the magical tradition that produced the Pithecusan inscription—a tradition of hexametrical incantations composed orally like the better known epics, hymns and oracles, but one which was not simply "descriptive" or "mimetic" in nature, but rather "performative" or, as Stanley Tambiah would say, "persuasive."[115] This process, I would argue, is very difficult for us modern scholars to grasp, living as we do in a world where language, even when it is made especially solemn by versification and archaic diction, is hardly ever thought capable of *doing* something as concrete and immediate as blinding a thief, calming the anger of a homicidal young man or instantly inciting his desire for lovemaking.

University of Chicago

115. See note 8 *supra* for Tambiah's work and some recent applications of it to the study of classical antiquity. The degree to which the Greeks in particular were aware of the persuasive effects (magical or otherwise) of specially constructed language cannot, I think, be overemphasized. See, e.g., J. de Romilly, *Rhetoric and Magic* (Cambridge MA, 1975), and C. Segal, "Gorgias and the Psychology of the *Logos*," *HSCP* 66 (1962) 99–155.

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